UNIVERSAL
WORLD HISTORY

UNIVERSAL WORLD HISTORY

VOLUME THREE

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
Metropolitan New York Library Council - METRO

http://archive.org/details/universal03hamm

Early Attic amphora
(two-handled storage jar)

Attic hydria
(water jar)

Attic kylix
(wine cup)

Attic
amphora

Attic krater
(wine mixer)

THE GLORIOUS WARES OF ANCIENT GREECE

Various periods and styles of vases from Attica are here illustrated. The topmost archaic amphora shows the sacrifice of Polyxena. The lowermost (Achilles slaying Penthesilea; signed by Exekias) and the krater (Athena crowning a harpist) contrast the black-figured and the red-figured techniques.

UNIVERSAL WORLD HISTORY

WRITTEN BY ONE HUNDRED FIFTY OF THE FOREMOST LIVING AUTHORITIES IN ALL BRANCHES OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

EDITED BY

J. A. HAMMERTON

Nearly 3000 Photographic Illustrations—Hundreds of Specially-Made Maps and Plans—Pronouncing Index of More Than 10,000 Entries—Classified List of Maps and Plans

---

VOLUME THREE

Pages 617-926

THE HELLENIC AGE

478-133 B.C.

New York

WISE & CO.

MCMXXXIX

Copyright 1937
Copyright 1939
WM. H. WISE & CO.

CHRONICLES I-V, CHAPTERS 1-36, COPR. 1927, 1928 BY THE AMALGAMATED PRESS
CHRONICLES VI-XXXIV, COPR. 1935 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
CHAPTERS 37-174 COPR. 1937, CHRONICLE XXXV, COPR. 1939 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
CHRONICLE XXXV, CHAPTER 174 COPR. 1939 BY WM. H. WISE & CO.
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TABLE OF CONTENTS—VOLUME THREE

PAGE

Color Plate: "The Glorious Wares of Ancient Greece" . . . *Frontispiece*
Select Bibliography vii

CHAPTER

CHRONICLE V The Rival Cities: 478-360 B.C. 617

32. The High Tide of Greek Life 637
By Prof. F. A. Wright

33. The Genius of Greek Art 655
By Prof. Percy Gardner, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

34. Greek Literature and the Theater 667
By Prof. Gilbert Norwood, M.A., Hon.D.Litt.

35. The Religion of the Greeks 682
By Lewis R. Farnell, D.Litt., F.B.A.

36. The Spartan and Athenian Empires 693
By Prof. W. R. Halliday

CHRONICLE VI The Hellenistic Age: 360-280 B.C. 703

37. Alexander as World Hero: A Study 719
By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.

38. The Greek Philosophers: Their Triumphs and Failures 735
By Edwyn R. Bevan, M.A., Hon.D.Litt.

39. The Greeks and Scientific Discovery 747
By Prof. Charles Singer, M.D., D.Litt., D.Sc.

40. The Eastward Spread of Hellenism 759
By Prof. H. G. Rawlinson

41. The Celtic Peoples: Their Culture and Their Tragedy 771
By Prof. R. A. S. Macalister

42. Ancient Commerce and the Mediterranean 787
By G. H. Stevenson

43. What the Modern World Owes to Greece 803
By Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, LL.D., F.R.S.

CHRONICLE VII The Beginnings of Roman Power: 280-202 B.C. . . 811

44. Rome and the Reasons for Her Later Greatness 829
By H. Stuart-Jones, D.Litt.

45. The Carthaginians and Their Maritime Empire 840
By F. N. Pryce

46. Patricians and Plebs: Rome's Warring Factions 852
By H. Stuart-Jones, D.Litt.

47. History's Most Glorious Failure 859
By H. Liddell Hart

48. The Agony of Greece: How the Leagues Arose 867
By Edwyn Bevan

CHAPTER PAGE

THIRD ERA. The World State, 201 B.C.-A.D. 476

CHRONICLE VIII The New Age of Roman Conquest: 201-133 B.C. . 878

49. The Spirit of Republican Rome 892
By Joseph Wells

50. The War-Craft of the Romans 899
By T. Rice Holmes, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.

51. The Religion of the Latins 909
By Cyril Bailey, D.Litt., F.B.A.

52. How Greek Culture Came to Rome 919
By R. S. Conway, Litt.D.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chronicle V

THE RIVAL CITIES: 478-360 B.C.

Bury, J. B., History of Greece, 1922
Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. V, 1927
Gilbert, G., Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens, 1895
Grote, G., A History of Greece, New ed., 1888
Grundy, G. B., Thucydides and the History of his Age, 1911
Rostovtzeff, M. I., The Orient and Greece, 1926
Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trs. B. Jowett, 2nd ed., 1900
Whibley, L., Companion to Greek Studies, 1916
Xenophon, Anabasis, trs. J. S. Watson, 1888
Hellenica, trs. C. L. Brownson, 1918-21

Chapter XXXII

THE HIGH TIDE OF GREEK LIFE

Abbott, E., Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens, 1897
Glotz, Gustave, Ancient Greece at Work, trs. M. R. Dobie, 1926
Gulick, B., The Life of the Ancient Greeks, 1909
Tucker, T. G., Life in Ancient Athens, 1906
Wright, F. A., The Arts in Greece, 1923
Greek Social Life, 1925

Chapter XXXIII

THE GENIUS OF GREEK ART

Furtwaengler, A., Masterpieces of Greek Art, trs. E. Strong, 1895
Gardiner, E. Norman, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals, 1910
Olympia, its History and Remains, 1925
Gardner, E. A., Handbook of Greek Sculpture, 1920
Gardner, P., The Principles of Greek Art, 1914
Marquand, A., Greek Architecture, 1909
Poulsen, F., Delphi, trs. G. C. Richards, 1920
Smith, A. H., The Sculptures of the Parthenon, 1910
Walters, H. B., Art of the Greeks, 2nd ed., 1922

Chapter XXXIV

GREEK LITERATURE AND THE THEATRE

Davies, J. LL, & Vaughan, D. J., Translation of Plato's Republic, 3rd ed., 1866
Frere, J. H., Translations of Aristophanes
Jebb, R. C., The Attic Orators, 2 vols., 2nd ed., 1893
Mackail, J. W., Lectures on Greek Poetry, 1910
Murray, Gilbert, Ancient Greek Literature, 3rd ed., 1911
Translations of Euripides, Medea, 1906, Trojan Women, 1905, Iphigenia in Tauris, 1910, Alcestis, 1915, Electra, 1905
Nettleship, R. L., Lectures on the Republic of Plato, 2nd ed., 1901
Norwood, G., Greek Tragedy, 1920
The Writers of Greece, 1925
Ross, W. D., Aristotle, 1923
Sheppard, J. T., Greek Tragedy, 1920
Verrall, A. W., Euripides the Rationalist, 1895

Chapter XXXV

THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

Cornford, F. C., Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander, 1923
Farnell, L. R., Cults of the Greek States, 5 vols., 1909
Greece and Babylon, 1911
Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality, 1920
Higher Aspects of Greek Religion, 1911
Harrison, J. E., Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, 1908
Murray, Gilbert, Five Stages of Greek Religion, 1925
Nilsson, N. M. P., A History of Greek Religion, trs. F. J. Fielden, etc., 1925

Chapter XXXVI

THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN EMPIRES

Gilbert, G., Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens, 1895
Glover, T. R., From Pericles to Philip, 3rd ed., 1919
Grundy, G. B., Thucydides and the History of His Age, 1911

Picard-Cambridge, A. W., Demosthenes and the Last Days of Greek Freedom, 1914

Chronicles VI to VIII

Bevan, Edwyn, The House of Seleucus, 1902
Bury, J. B., History of Greece, 1922
Cambridge Ancient History, Vols. VI and VII, 1927-8
Curtius, E., History of Greece, 1886
Grote, George, History of Greece, 1869-70
Oman, C. W. C., History of Greece, 7th ed., 1901
Rostovtzeff, M. I., A History of the Ancient World, Vol. I, The Orient and Greece, 1926
Vol. II, Rome, 1927

Chapter XXXVII

ALEXANDER AS WORLD HERO: A STUDY

Arrian, Flavius, Expéditions d'Alexandre, trs. Chaussard, 1849-51
Baumbach, A., Kleinasien unter Alexander den Grossen, 1911
Curtius Rufus, Q. History of Alexander the Great, trs. J. Lightfoot, 1904
Hogarth, D. G., Philip and Alexander of Macedon, 1897
MacCrindle, J. W., The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, 2nd ed., 1896
Mahaffy, J. P., Alexander's Empire, 1902
Plutarch, Life of Alexander the Great, trs. J. and W. Langhorne, 1886
Wheeler, B. I., Alexander the Great, 1900

Chapter XXXVIII

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS: THEIR TRIUMPHS AND FAILURES

Aristotle, Translations of works issued by Oxford University Press
Bevan, Edwyn, Stoics and Sceptics, 1913
Burnet, John, Early Greek Philosophy, 1920
Greek Philosophy: from Thales to Plato, 1914
Gomperz, Theodor, Greek Thinkers, 4 vols., trs. L. Magnus and G. G. Berry, 1901-12
Hicks, R. D., Stoic and Epicurean, 1910
Plato, Dialogues, trs. B. Jowett, 1903
Translations of works in Macmillan's Golden Treasury Series
Ross, W. D., Aristotle, 1923
Taylor, Alfred Edward, Aristotle, 1912
Plato, 1922
Plato, the Man and His Work, 1926
Platonism and Its Influence, 1925
Zeller, Eduard, A History of Greek Philosophy, trs. S. F. Alleyne, 2 vols., 1881
Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics, trs. Costelloe and Muirhead, 2 vols., 1897
Plato and the Older Academy, trs. S. F. Alleyne and A. Goodwin, 1888
Socrates and The Socratic Schools, trs. O. J. Reichel, 1885
Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, trs. O. J. Reichel, 1892

Chapter XXXIX

THE GREEKS AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY

Aristotle, De Anima, trs. R. D. Hicks, 1907
De Generatione Animalium, trs. J. A. Platt, 1912
De Partibus Animalium, trs. W. Ogle, 1912
Historia Animalium, trs. D. W. Thompson, 1908
Bailey, Cyril, and others, Legacy of Rome, 1924
Heath, T. L., History of Greek Mathematics, 2 vols., 1921
Livingstone, R. W., and others, Legacy of Greece, 1921
Singer, C., Short History of Medicine, 1928
Theophrastus, Historia Plantarum, trs. Sir A. Hort, 2 vols., 1916

Chapter XL

EASTWARD SPREAD OF HELLENISM

Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, 1922
Foucher, A., L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara, 1905
MacCrindle, J. W., Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian, 1877
Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, 1901
Mahaffy, J. P., The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire, 1905

Oxford History of India, 1919
Rawlinson, H. G., Bactria, 1912
Intercourse between India and the Western World, 1925
Schoff, W. H., Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 1912
Stein, Sir Marc Aurel, Ancient Khotan, 1907
Ruins of Desert Cathay, 2 vols., 1912
Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, 1903

Chapter XLI

THE CELTIC PEOPLES: THEIR CULTURE AND THEIR TRAGEDY

Allen, J. R., Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times, 2nd ed., 1912
Bertrand, A., and Reinach, S., Les Celtes dans les vallées du Po et du Danube, 1894
Dechelette, J., Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine, 1908-14
Dottin, G., Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique, 1915
Holmes, T. Rice, Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar, 1907
Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, 1911
Kendrick, T. D., The Druids, 1927
Macalister, R. A. S., The Archaeology of Ireland, 1928
Macculloch, J. A., The Religion of the Ancient Celts, 1911

Chapter XLII

ANCIENT COMMERCE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

Gardner, Percy, History of Ancient Coinage, 1918
Glotz, Gustave, Ancient Greece at Work, trs. M. R. Dobie, 1926
Ormerod, H. A., Piracy in the Ancient World, 1924
Ridgeway, Sir William, The Origin of Currency, 1888
Tarn, W. W., Hellenistic Civilization, 1927
Tozer, H. F., History of Ancient Geography, 1897

Chapter XLIII

WHAT THE MODERN WORLD OWES TO GREECE

Butcher, S. H., Some Aspects of the Greek Genius, 3rd ed., 1904
Livingstone, R. W., The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, 2nd ed., 1924
The Legacy of Greece, 1921
Webb, C. C. J., History of Philosophy, 1915
Whibley, L., A companion to Greek Studies, 2nd ed., 1906
Zimmern, A. E., The Greek City States, 4th ed., 1924
The Greek Commonwealth, 4th ed., 1924

Chapters XLIV, XLIX and LII

ROME AND THE REASONS FOR HER LATER GREATNESS; THE SPIRIT OF REPUBLICAN ROME and HOW GREEK CULTURE CAME TO ROME

Bailey, Cyril, The Mind of Rome, 1926
Conway, R. S., New Studies of a Great Inheritance, 1921
Italy in the Etruscan Age, Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. IV, Chap. XIII
Grenier, A. S., The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought and Art, trs. M. R. Dobie, 1926
Homo, L., Primitive Italy and the Beginnings of Roman Imperialism, trs. V. Gordon Childe, 1927
Jollife, R. O., Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration, 1919
See also Bibliographies to other relevant chapters

Chapter XLV

THE CARTHAGINIANS AND THEIR MARITIME EMPIRE

Gsell, S., Histoire de l'Afrique, 4 vols, 1912
Moore, Mabel, Carthage of the Phoenicians, 1905
Smith, R. Bosworth, Carthage and the Carthaginians, 1897
Whitaker, J. I. S., Motya, 1921

Chapter XLVI

PATRICIANS AND PLEBS: ROME'S WARRING FACTIONS

Abbot, F. F., Roman Political Institutions, 2nd ed., 1907
Botsford, G. W., Roman Assemblies, 1909
Greenidge, A. H. J., Roman Public Life, 1901
See also Bibliography to Chronicles

Chapter XLVII

HISTORY'S MOST GLORIOUS FAILURE

Colin, J. L. A., Annibal en Gaule, 1904
Delbrueck, Hans, Geschichte d. Kriegskunst im Rahmen d. polit. Geschichte, Vol. I, 1900
Dodge, T. A., Great Captains: Hannibal, 1889
Hennebert, Eugene, Histoire d'Annibal, 1870-1902
Kromayer, Johannes, Antike Schlachtfelder, 1903
Roms Kampf um die Weltherrschaft, 1912
Liddell Hart, B. H., A Greater than Napoleon: Scipio Africanus, 1926
Smith, R. Bosworth, Rome and Carthage, 1883
Wilkinson, Spenser, Hannibal's March through the Alps, 1911

Chapter XLVIII

THE AGONY OF GREECE: HOW THE LEAGUES AROSE

Botsford, G. W. and Sihler, E. G., Hellenic Civilization, 1915
Freeman, E. A., History of Federal Government in Greece, 2nd ed., 1893
Picard-Cambridge, A. W., Demosthenes and the last Days of Greek Freedom, 1914
Tarn, W. W., Hellenistic Civilization, 1927

Chapter L

THE WAR-CRAFT OF THE ROMANS

Cagnat, R., L'armée romaine d'Afrique, 1912
Cheesman, G. L., The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army, 1914
Holmes, T. Rice, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, 2nd ed., 1911
Lesquier, J., L'armée romaine l'Egypte, 1918
Stuart-Jones, H., Companion to Roman History, 1912

Chapter LI

THE RELIGION OF THE LATINS

Bailey, Cyril, Religion of Ancient Rome, 1907
Fowler, W. Warde, The Religious Experience of the Roman People, 1911
The Roman Festivals, 1899
Roman Ideas of Deity, 1914
Halliday, W. R., Lectures on the History of Roman Religion, 1922
Rose, H. J., Primitive Culture in Italy, 1926

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE V

Unless otherwise stated in italics, dates refer to events in the Greek world

B.C.

479 Athenians and Ionians capture Sestus. Spartan hegemony in Greece, Athenian maritime hegemony.

478 Athens refortified (Themistocles).
China: Death of Confucius.

477 Delian Confederation framed (Aristides).

474 *Italy:* Etruscan sea power crushed by Hieron at Cumæ. Forty years' peace between Rome and Veii (Etruscan).

471 Themistocles exiled.
Rome: Volscian and Æquian wars.

470 Secession of Naxos from Delian League.

468 Suppression of Naxos and secession. Birth of Socrates.

467 Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon.

465 *Persia:* Accession of Artaxerxes I.

464 Messenian (Helot) revolt against Sparta; Siege of Ithome.

462 Democratic reforms of Ephialtes and Pericles at Athens.

461 Ostracism of Cimon. Ascendancy of Pericles at Athens.

460 *Egypt:* Inarus, in revolt against Persia, appeals to Athens for help.

459 Megara joins Athens. War with Corinth and Ægina. Fall of Ithome.
Egypt: Athenian expedition captures Memphis.

457 Long Walls complete fortification of Athens. Athenians conquer Bœotia.
Athenians conquer Ægina.

455 *Egypt:* Persians reconquer Egypt.

454 Disastrous end of Egyptian expedition.

451 Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta.
Rome: First Decemvirate; the Ten Tables.

450 Death of Cimon. Battle of Salamis.
Rome: The Ten Tables expanded to Twelve.

449 *Rome:* Fall of Decemvirate. Second secession of the Plebs; Laws strengthen Plebeian Assembly.

448 Peloponnesians reject Athenian proposal of a Pan-Hellenic Congress.

447 Battle of Coronea. Athens loses Bœotia.

Peace with Persia ends Persian War?

446 Revolt of Megara; Eubœa reduced.

445 Thirty Years' Peace; Aristophanes born.
Rome: Canuleian Law sanctions marriage between patricians and plebeians.

438 The Parthenon. Pheidias flourishes.
Rome: War with Veii.

437 Athenian colony at Amphipolis.

435 War between Corinth and Corcyra.

432 Revolt of Potidæa from Athens. Megarian degree of Pericles.

431 Theban attack on Plataea.
Spartan invasion of Attica.
First (annual) Athenian invasion of Megarid.
Rome: Defeat of Volsci and Æqui at Algidus.

430 Second Spartan invasion; plague at Athens; attacks on Pericles. Surrender of Potidæa. Plato born?

429 Death of Pericles. Cleon leader of war-party. Siege of Plataea.

428 Revolt of Mitylene.

427 Fall of Mitylene and Plataea.
Expedition of Laches to Sicily.

426 Demosthenes in Ætolia.
Rome: Pressure of Gauls on Etruria. Etruscan truce with Rome.

425 Massacre of the Oligarchs in Corcyra. Surrender of Spartans in Sphacteria.
Persia: Death of Artaxerxes I; Xerxes II, followed by Darius II.

424 Athenian invasion of Bœotia and defeat at Delium; Socrates saves life of Alcibiades. Brasidas in Thrace. Revolt of Amphipolis.
Italy: Samnites seize Capua.

422 Brasidas and Cleon killed before Amphipolis.

B.C.

421 Peace of Nicias between Athens and Sparta, whose allies repudiate the terms.

420 Athenian alliance with Argos.

418 Argive defeat at Mantinea, and revolution

416 Seizure of Melos by Athens.

415 Segestan embassy to Athens, against Selinus. Sicilian Expedition sails under Nicias, Alcibiades and Lamachus. Alcibiades, recalled, intrigues against Athens.

414 Siege of Syracuse. Arrival of Gylippus; death of Lamachus.

413 Sparta occupies Deceleia. Demosthenes at Syracuse. Athenian force annihilated. Sparta builds a fleet.
Growth of Macedon under Archelaus.
India: Nanda Dynasty in Magadha.

412 Revolts of Athenian allies in succession. Sparta intrigues with Persian satraps. Advanced democracy in Syracuse; Diocles.

411 Oligarchic revolution at Athens; the fleet at Samos recalls Alcibiades.

410 Battle of Cyzicus.

409 Carthaginian advance in Sicily.

406 Athenian victory at Arginusæ.
Carthaginian advance against Syracuse.
Rome: Etruscan war; siege of Veii.

405 Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; makes peace with Carthage.
Athenian fleet destroyed at Ægospotami.

404 Fall of Athens; the Thirty Tyrants.
End of Peloponnesian War. Sparta supreme.
Persia: Accession of Artaxerxes II.

403 Thrasybulus restores Athenian Democracy.

401 *Persia:* Revolt of Cyrus; battle of Cunaxa. Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, led by Xenophon.

400 Extending power of Dionysius in Sicily.

399 Sparta at war with Elis and Persian Satraps. Death of Socrates.

398 First Carthaginian war of Dionysius in Sicily.

397 Siege of Syracuse by Himilco. Peace made.

396 Agesilaus in Phrygia.
Rome: Capture of Veii by Camillus.

395 Recovery of Athens.

394 Conon in command of Persian fleet; Cnidus. Corinthian war. Spartan victories at Nemea and Coronea.

393 Conon at Athens with Pharnabazus.

392 Athenian successes. Iphicrates and his peltasts.
Successes of Dionysius.

390 Dionysius in Italy; fails before Rhegium. Alliance of Dionysius with Lucanians.
Rome: Battle of Allia; Gauls sack Rome.

389 Battle of Elleporus; Italiotes join Dionysius.

387 Dionysius takes Rhegium.

386 Sparta and Persia impose the King's Peace or Peace of Antalcidas.

384 Birth of Aristotle.

383 Second Carthaginian war of Dionysius.

382 Spartans garrison Acropolis of Thebes. Chalcidian League. Olynthian war begins

379 Liberation of Thebes. Chalcidians crushed

378 War of Sparta and Thebes.

376 Spartan fleet defeated at Naxos.
Power of Thessaly under Jason of Pheræ

375 Spartans beaten at Orchomenus by Pelopidas.

374 New Athenian League.

371 Victory of Epaminondas at Leuctra. Theban supremacy. Arcadian League.

370 Thebans invade Peloponnese.

369 Megalopolis founded. Alexander of Pheræ
Rome: Licinian Laws passed; political equality of the orders established.

366 Rivalry of Athenian and Theban influence in Macedon and Thessaly.

364 Death of Pelopidas.

362 Death of Epaminondas at Mantinea.

THE RIVAL CITIES: 478—360 B.C.

SYRACUSE had defeated Carthage, but without driving her off the seas; and another power still claimed predominance in the Tyrrhenian waters. The Etruscans, checked in Latium and conscious of danger threatening from the prosperous Greek communities of the south, turned predatory eyes on their most northly city, Cumæ, and attacked it. Cumæ appealed to Syracuse for aid against the barbarian. Hieron, now reigning there in succession to his brother Gelon, answered the call; and Etruria's fleet was shattered and her sea power broken at the naval battle by Cyme or Cumæ in 474. The blow struck by Syracuse also probably decided another struggle with which she did not concern herself, the struggle for supremacy on the mainland between Etruscan and Latin.

Continuation of the Persian War

IN the east the part played by the Ionians in the struggle gave them a strong moral claim on the aid of their kinsmen in Europe, a claim which Sparta as the recognized leader of the Greeks entirely ignored; so the Ionians placed themselves under the willing leadership of Athens, whose primacy among the maritime states was indisputable. A war for the liberation of Ionia must necessarily be, primarily at least, a maritime war.

As head of the new "Delian Confederation," Athens at once became, in fact if not in name, the rival of Sparta in the hegemony of Hellas. Broadly speaking, the result was that the Hellenic world found itself drawn into one or the other of two groups, a maritime confederacy dominated by Athens and a continental confederacy dominated by Sparta.

In its immediate intention, however, the new maritime confederation was simply a league for carrying on the Persian war until all Hellas should be free. This work was practically completed in 467, by Cimon the son of Miltiades, who in the neighborhood of the river Eurymedon shattered on land the Persian forces and on the sea annihilated a Phœnician fleet of two hundred sail.

But the need of maintaining the Greek navy under the direction of Athens was, of course, in no wise diminished by Cimon's victory. For practical purposes the navy of the Confederation by this time had almost become the navy of Athens; but the organization of the Confederation was the work of Aristides, and its operations were conducted by Cimon the son of Miltiades—the one a man whom all men trusted, the other a most loyal Athenian patriot, but also a most loyal friend and admirer of Sparta. For both of these the Confederation was what it professed to be, a league for the liberation of Hellas from the power of the common foe, the Barbarian; unconsciously they made it an instrument for the aggrandizement of Athens.

The explanation scarcely presents difficulty. Lack of unity had all but wrought disaster; for a new campaign there must be unity not merely of aim but of method. A single high command, a common war-chest and a regulated standard for contribution in ships, men and money were essential to success. The treasury was deposited at Delos, which gave its name to the Confederation; questions were settled by the representatives of the member-states in council, under Athenian presidency, each state, large or small, having one vote. The bigger states contributed ships, the smaller states ship-money; larger states that preferred to follow the second course were allowed to do so; the apportionment of the contributions was entrusted by universal consent to Aristides; and, since the ships representing the ship-money were provided by Athens and remained an integral part of the Athenian navy, the practical effect was that the Confederation paid Athens to enlarge her own fleet.

The federal principle, denying the right of secession, was soon laid down and enforced. The paying states, to which in

THE GREEK WORLD IN WHICH ATHENS SOUGHT TO BUILD HER EMPIRE

Civilized Europe after the Persian war was divided into very many small city states, but there were only three powers, all Greek, of any magnitude: Syracuse, Sparta, Athens. The Sicilian Greeks, under Syracusan leadership, had defeated Carthage and shattered the Etruscan navy; the league of which Sparta was the center was the supreme military power in Greece; while Athens, as head of the Delian Confederation with its navy, was mistress of the Ægean Sea.

the first instance at least Athens appeared in the character of a protector, were in fact her clients or dependents from the beginning; and thus she was able always to control a majority of the votes on the council.

Delian Confederation Subordinate to Athens

The complete subordination of the Confederation to Athens became obvious some years later when (in 454) the treasury was removed from Delos to Athens and placed under her sole control. By that time the Athenian confederacy embraced the whole of Asiatic Hellas, most of the ports on the north coast of the Ægean and all the islands, including at last Ægina. Lesbos, Chios and Samos alone enjoyed comparative independence, not having commuted their contribution of ships for payment of money. States which had been coerced into joining or remaining in the Confederation had for the most part been deprived of the autonomy which all had enjoyed at the outset. Officially the Confederation was still an alliance; actually it was an Athenian Empire.

The specific purpose for which the Delian Confederation had been created was achieved at the battle of the Eurymedon.

Athenian zeal for continuing the Persian war passed with the passing of Cimon; and hostilities with Persia ceased (possibly with an understanding rather than a formal treaty, the Peace of

Callias) in 447. No renewed attack upon any portion of Hellas was now to be feared from Persia, though Cyprus remained under her power.

Retrospect of Internal Developments

For internal Greek affairs we must retrace our steps to the days when the Delian Confederation was yet uncreated and Cimon still alive. When the battle of Platæa had been fought, and won practically by the Lacedæmonians, the part played in the war by Athens brought to her a new prestige, making her second only to Sparta, but still second. The Spartan hegemony was still undisputed; it belonged to her in right of the admirable military virtues of her soldiery and the unmatched excellence, despite limitations, of her military machine. But from the pan-Hellenic point of view her exclusively Peloponnesian outlook had been extremely marked, in contrast to that of Athens. Pan-Hellenism demanded an active maritime war in which Peloponnesians had no direct interest and Sparta had no inclination to participate, whereas Athens was obviously marked out for the leadership; and by the mere fact of that leadership she had been projected upon the path of imperialism, along which, from about 460 onwards, she was guided by the most famous of her statesmen, Pericles.

Friendly relations were maintained between Athens and Sparta for some time, owing to the influence of

HEADQUARTERS OF THE CONFEDERATION THAT BECAME THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

The league of Greek cities known as the Delian Confederation had its name from the island of Delos, where its treasury was established. In the temple of Apollo, to whom the island was sacred, the synod of the Confederation met to transact its business under the presidency of Athens. Here we look from the central heights of Delos towards the strait that separates it from Rheneia; in the foreground are the ruins of the semicircular theater and adjacent buildings.

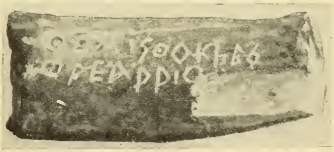
From "Picturesque Greece," Fisher Unwin, Ltd.

THE CITY STATES AND ISLANDS WHOSE BITTER RIVALRIES DIVIDED GREECE

Local patriotism, ever an effective check upon Greek strivings after national unification, had been temporarily overcome by the menace of Persian conquest, but quickly revived after Plataea. Sparta's interests were solely in the Peloponnese, where she enjoyed an unchallenged primacy, so that the Greek cities outside her sphere of influence and the islands looked to Athens for guidance in their struggle against Persia. Thus there arose two parties—the Spartan and Athenian groups of states.

the popular soldier Cimon, too honest to be an intriguer, too simple-minded to be a statesman, but with a genius for winning victories inherited from his father, the victor of Marathon. Admiration for Sparta, hostility to Persia and loyalty to Athens were his guiding principles. His influence, however, was ended by an act of sheer stupidity on the part of Sparta.

In 463 she was in difficulties over a serious revolt of the helots of Messenia, who had occupied the fortress of Ithome, where they defied all her efforts to reduce them. Sparta was driven to appeal for aid to her allies, including Athens. Cimon, in spite of the active democratic opposition led by Ephialtes and Pericles, prevailed on the Athenians to send an expedition under his own command to their help; he failed to carry the fortress, and was promptly informed that Sparta had no further use for the services of Athens. Meanwhile, the democrats had introduced some highly popular reforms by which their hands were strengthened; Athens smarted under the insult of Ithome; Cimon returned to find that

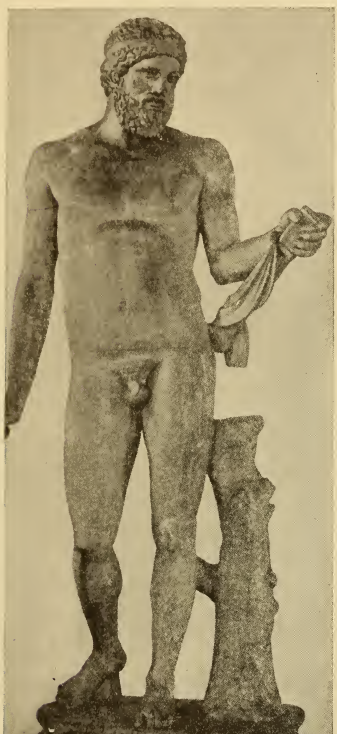


VOTE TO BANISH THEMISTOCLES

Notwithstanding his great services to Athens, in 472 B.C. the requisite 6,000 citizens voted that Themistocles should be ostracized. Here we see the potsherd (ostrakon) inscribed with his name by which one vote for his ostracism was cast.

his popularity had vanished; and a year later he was banished by the form of vote known as ostracism—the common expression of a sharp popular revulsion.

The democratic anti-Laconian imperialists were carried into power; Ephialtes was slain by an unknown assassin (461); and thenceforth for thirty years, with scarcely an interval, the policy of Athens was the policy of Pericles. Thenceforth, also, friendship between Sparta and Athens was at best a hollow pretense. The Messenian insurgents were eventually suppressed, but Athens provided them with a refuge and a settlement at Naupactus, her recently established outpost on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf.



GREAT ATHENIAN IMPERIALIST

After his ostracism Themistocles fled first to Argos and then to the Persians. Found at Magnesia in Asia Minor, where he was allowed to settle by the Great King, and now in Munich, this statue has lately been identified as the man who laid the foundations of Athenian greatness.

From Percy Gardner, "New Chapters in Greek Art"

Foretaste of the Peloponnesian War

THE quarrel broke out when Megara at the north end of the Isthmus sought and obtained the protection of Athens against the domination of her powerful neighbor Corinth. Megara from the Peloponnesian point of view was the gate of Attica, whose "wooden walls" were impenetrable. With Megara in her hands, Athens could be attacked only on her northern flank through Bœotia, dominated by Thebes. Corinth attacked Megara; Athens came to the rescue; Ægina joined Corinth; but so successful were the Athenian arms that not only was Megara held but Ægina was reduced to complete submission and forced to enter the Delian Confederation as a tributary ally of Athens before two years were over (457).

BETWEEN 456 and 448 Athens was apparently at the height of her power. The coasts on both sides of the Gulf of Corinth were dominated by her; she was mistress of Megara and of most of Bœotia; the treasury of the Delian Confederation had been transferred from Delos to Athens; Cimon was now back, in the double character of pacificator in relation to Sparta and incomparable commander of fleets and armies, and bearing no malice to either Sparta or his own countrymen. When he died, as recounted above, the long strain of the Persian war was over.

At this auspicious moment, then, in 448, Pericles made the proposal which (if it was genuine) displays the pan-Hellenic idealism underlying his Athenian imperialism. Hitherto Hellas had acted in something like unison only under stress of a manifest necessity for common defense against an overwhelming common menace. Now, in time of assured peace, so far as the Barbarian was

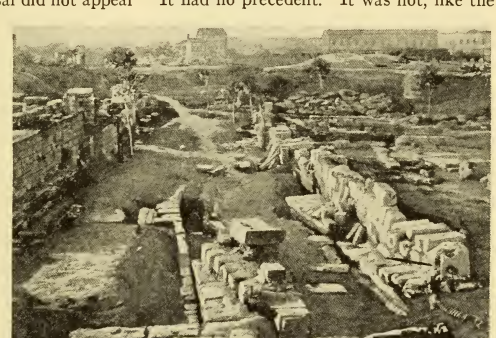
concerned, he invited all Hellas to join in a sort of imperial conference with a view to joint action for common ends in which all Hellas was interested; primarily the restoration of the temples, revered by all alike, in territory that had been ravaged by the Barbarians, and the suppression of the piracy from which the commerce of all Hellas was suffering losses.

Such a conference would have held in it immeasurable possibilities of future pan-Hellenic development. But unmistakably it would also have involved Athenian hegemony—moreover, the Peloponnese had not been ravaged by the Persians. The proposal did not appeal to Sparta nor to the rest of the Peloponnesians; they declined it; and Pericles was free to fall back on Athenian imperialism. And against the imperialism of the great maritime democracy was inevitably arrayed the whole force of oligarchic militarism under Spartan hegemony—not of Spartan imperialism; for the Spartan state was too slow and too politically timid, for all the valor of her soldiers, to contemplate the responsibilities of empire.

After the Persian war the city of Athens strengthened its own position by fortifying the great port of the Piræus, from which the city itself, four miles away, was however still liable to be cut off. But only under the rule of Pericles that the harbor fortifications were completed and the famous Long Walls were carried from the city to the port, so that the whole was from the military point of view one great fortified town.

But the years immediately following the Peace of Callias brought the lesson that extension of dominion by land was a mistake for the power whose strength lay in her navy. Revolt followed revolt, usually the outcome of oligarchical plots. Bœotia broke away, Thebes recovering her ascendancy. Eubœa broke away, but here the revolt was stamped out. Megara broke away, massacred its Athenian garrison and joined the Peloponnesian League; Attica was once more open to invasion along the whole of her land frontier, though little Platæa held indomitably to her alliance. Encompassed with dangers, Athens in 445 concluded a thirty years peace with the allied Peloponnesians, surrendering almost all her recent acquisitions on the mainland of Greece.

The precise status of Athens at this stage is not altogether easy to grasp. It had no precedent. It was not, like the hegemony of Sparta, a universally recognized preëminence resting on acknowledged military prestige; Sparta claimed no right of applying compulsion to her allies as arising from her hegemony. But the Delian Confederation had at a very early stage claimed the right of compelling maritime states to join it and, having joined, to remain in it; and the voice of the Confederation from the outset was in effect the voice of Athens. Save for the contingents from three islands, the fleet was her fleet; whenever compulsion was applied, Athens



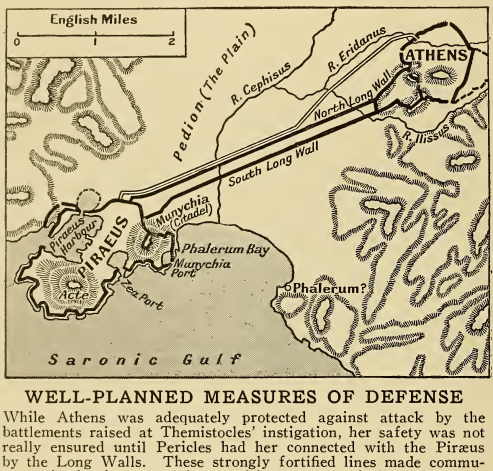
TO PRESERVE ATHENS AGAINST ATTACK

At the close of the Persian war, Themistocles so strengthened the defenses of Athens as to make it a fortress in itself. The city was surrounded by a high, carefully constructed wall, a section of which is shown here; and the fortifications of the Acropolis, partly destroyed by the Persians, were restored.

Photo, Deutsches Archæologisches Institut

applied it; virtually if not formally she fixed the contributions, and unequivocally she alone controlled the expenditure. Wherever she applied compulsion it was attended by some curtailment of autonomy, a definite loss of independence, formally asknowledged by treaty; in effect she was not the president of a league of equal states, but the mistress of a number of dependent states whose tribute maintained the Athenian navy.

Moreover, beyond this Pericles developed a new system of colonization, planting on the lands of the allies settlements of Athenian citizens who remained Athenian citizens under Athenian jurisdiction, and served in effect as a sort of Athenian garrison.



WELL-PLANNED MEASURES OF DEFENSE

While Athens was adequately protected against attack by the battlements raised at Themistocles' instigation, her safety was not really ensured until Pericles had her connected with the Piræus by the Long Walls. These strongly fortified lines made communication between Athens and her port practically secure.

THE magnetic power exercised by Pericles over the people of Athens was shaken but not broken by the reverses which brought about the comparative humiliation of the Thirty Years Peace. His triumph was a triumph of personality, since he rejected entirely the vulgar arts of the demagogue, holding himself aloof from the crowd. He maintained his rule because he compelled confidence even in the face of failure and opposition headed by a leader of distinguished integrity, Thucydides (not the historian), the son of Melesias, who was actuated partly by mistrust of his popular innovations and still more by dislike of his domineering treatment of the allies. But when three years after the peace, Thucydides challenged a direct trial of strength, it was he himself, not Pericles, who was ostracized.

To the popular mind Thucydides represented the party of oligarchic reaction, while imperialism appealed to its imagination. The combination of the most advanced democratic methods with an Olympian personal aloofness and imperialist idealism was irresistible. Neither corruption nor terrorism had any part in maintaining the sway of Pericles. He was in effect an uncrowned king who ruled simply because the populace of Athens chose that he should rule as the one man who commanded their confidence.

The feature in the domestic policy of Pericles which secured his popularity was the extension of democratic principles. All citizens were to be equal before the law. He came into power as champion of the curtailment of the privileges exercised by the Areopagus (an ancient and time-honored body from the membership of which the great bulk of the citizens were by its constitution permanently excluded), and of the transfer of its functions to a body admission to which was open to all.

Democratic Policy of Pericles

HE systematically extended the principle of payment for the discharge of all minor public services for which the average citizen could not otherwise have afforded to spare the time. There was no political office which any citizen might not aspire to attain by election or by lot.

Not the least of the means by which

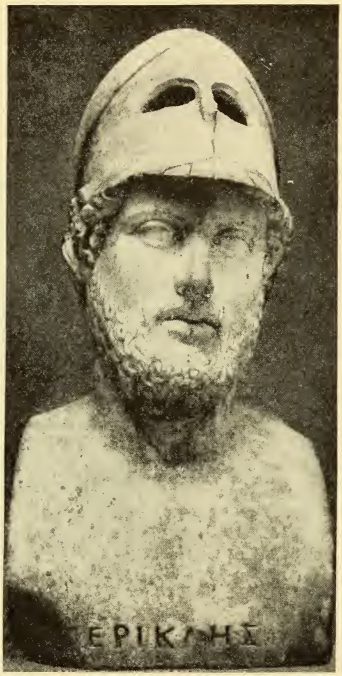
he acquired his ascendancy was the magnificence which flattered the Athenian's pride in his city and in himself. Greece at large refused, as we have seen, to aid in that restoration of the ruined temples which was a sacred obligation upon all Hellenes. The work was left to Athens, and what under the guidance of Pericles she wrought is the immortal heritage of mankind. If Athens was wealthy she gave of her wealth freely; for but an infinitesimal fraction of the cost was defrayed from the treasury of her tributaries.

Athens through her own outposts or her tributaries controlled the Dardanelles and the Bosporus; it is tolerably certain that Pericles had dreams that extended to the Euxine—he very much strengthened the Athenian hold on the northern coastland of the Ægean though later his colony of Amphipolis became a source of weakness rather than strength. In the west she commanded the entry to the Gulf of Corinth by the possession of Naupactus on its north shore. Corcyra was a Corinthian colony, but always on such bad terms with her mother city that her friendship could almost be reckoned upon.

Mutterings before the Storm

WHATEVER jealousy Sparta may have felt towards Athens, she was too self-centered, too inert, too ready to rest stolidly in her own strength to make the first move against her rival until the spur to action was supplied by someone else. She was wholly devoid of the enterprise and initiative so characteristic of Athens. On the other hand it was hardly less certain that the spur would be applied by Corinth, the Dorian state which found her own maritime and commercial ambitions thwarted at every turn by her energetic rival.

Athenian fleets dominated the Saronic Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; they were invading Corinth's preserves in the west; in Chalcidice the Corinthian colony of Potidæa had been absorbed into the Athenian League. If Corinth should see a chance of arousing the lethargic wrath of Sparta against Athens to the point of action, she would certainly make the most of it. And then the scale would be weighted with the entire force



UNCROWNED KING OF ATHENS

Secure in the unwavering confidence of the Athenian democracy, Pericles never had recourse to dubious political expedients. At home he realized democratic principles, but in foreign affairs was an uncompromising imperialist.

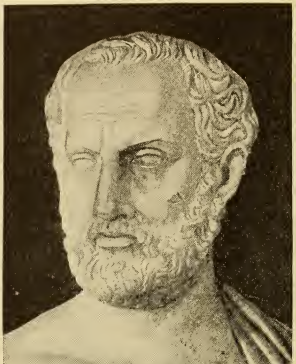
British Museum

of the Peloponnesian League; and Sparta, feeling her hegemony bound up in the struggle, would be doubly dangerous. On that head Pericles can have had no illusion.

A series of disconnected incidents produced the opportunity. First, in 435, Corinth and her colony Corcyra fell out about the Corcyrean colony of Epidamnus, and Corcyra won a naval victory over her parent city. Corinth, having the Peloponnesian League behind her, prepared to punish Corcyra, who, having no one behind her, sought the alliance of Athens, whom Corinth pressed

to remain neutral. The alliance might precipitate a Peloponnesian war, but in that event the Corcyrean fleet would be useful. Athens agreed to help Corcyra, but only if Corinth attacked her. In a sea-fight at Sybota a small Athenian squadron saved the Corcyrean fleet from a grave disaster (433). Corinth had an arguable case for charging Athens with a breach of the Thirty Years Peace.

Next year Potidæa revolted, refusing to dismiss her Corinthian magistrates and to raze her own walls at the bidding of Athens. Half the Chalcidian peninsula followed suit, incited thereto by the Macedonian king Perdiccas, who had a private personal grievance against Athens. In 432 an Athenian force defeated the Corinthian commander of the Potidæans and laid siege to the city. Corinth appealed to Sparta; Pericles retorted with a decree forbidding entry to any Megarian at any port under Athenian control—Megara having aided Corinth at Sybota—and the Pericles decree left Megara faced with complete commercial ruin.



FIRST SCIENTIFIC HISTORIAN

Our knowledge of the Peloponnesian war is largely derived from Thucydides, whose account and interpretation of events are unbiassed, although he was an Athenian. This bust, in Holkham Hall, Norfolk, is one of the best extant.

From Poulsen, "Greek and Roman Portraits"

How the War At Last Broke Out

SPARTA found the Corinthian appeal convincing, backed as it was by other Peloponnesian states. But, as always, she wanted time to get into movement. She gained some delay by raising irrelevant points which were brushed aside as a matter of course. Then came the ultimatum. If Athens did not free the Hellenes whom she held in subjection, there would be war. Athens responded that if Sparta would set the example in her own dominion she would follow it. This being the last thing that Sparta would dream of doing, it meant that Athens had confidently taken up the gage which Sparta had hesitatingly thrown down.

The war which opened in the spring of 431 was a struggle for domination between a maritime empire and a mistress of continental armies, with this qualification, that Attica had a long and indefensible land frontier, while she had on the continent no more effective friend than the small state of Platæa, though her fleets included those of both Chios and Lesbos.

PERICLES from the outset realized the fundamental fact that on land the hostile forces were overwhelmingly superior, and that Attica, as distinguished from the city of Athens with its ports, was indefensible. Year by year the Peloponnesian armies ravaged Attica, practically unopposed. In the second year (430), Athens was brought almost to her knees by the outbreak within the city—overcrowded by the rural population gathered behind its wall—of bubonic plague, which destroyed a quarter of the people but extended no farther than the city itself.

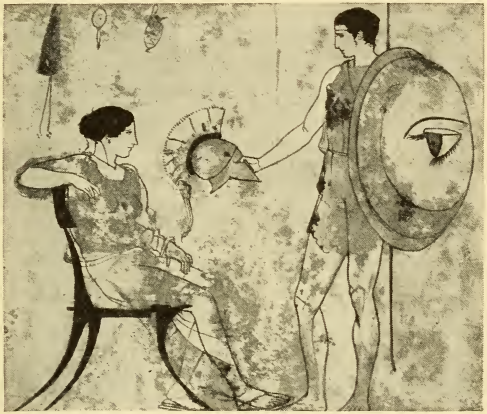
The anti-democratic and the ultra-imperialist parties seized the opportunity for an attack upon Pericles, who had found it hard enough to induce the Athenians to watch the devastation of their property outside the city walls. Yet his ascendancy, though seriously shaken, was not lost. But in the following year (429) he died, and the leadership of the democratic imperialists passed into other hands.

The war policy of Pericles rested on the conviction that nothing could be

gained and much might be lost by attempting to meet the main Peloponnesian armies on land. The reply to the attacks upon Attica must be the throttling of the Peloponnesian states by an irresistible sea power, killing their commerce and incidentally threatening their coasts with harassing raids. To this end the command of the western sea was vital, that of the Ægean being already secure.

Athens strengthened her position in the western islands and on the Acarnanian coast, and some brilliant victories were won over superior squadrons by the able commander Phormio, whose career however was somewhat unaccountably brief. On the Chalcidian peninsula the siege of Potidæa was carried to the finish, the Potidæans were expelled and the place was occupied by the Athenians. Ægina was completely Atticized in the first year by the total expulsion of the Æginetans, who were planted by the Spartans on Laconian soil.

No marked progress on either side is to be observed in the years immediately following the death of Pericles. But to this period belong three episodes which have been made famous by the vivid narrative of Thucydides.



YOUNG SOLDIER BOUND FOR THE WARS

The strength of Greek armies lay in heavy infantry, "hoplites," of which Sparta possessed the most efficient force. In battle the typical hoplite was equipped with cuirass, greaves and sword, in addition to a tunic, vizored helmet, spear and emblazoned shield such as we see in this drawing of about 450 B.C.

From a tomb lekythos in the National Museum, Athens, after Pfuhl

The opening incident of the war had been an attempt of the Thebans to get possession of Platæa by a trick. The trick was foiled in circumstances which could fairly be called a breach of faith on the part of the Platæans, who appealed to Athens. She withdrew the non-combatant inhabitants, leaving a garrison of 400 Platæans and eighty Athenians. In spite of promises, no more was done for Platæa, to which in the third year the Peloponnesians laid siege, since the garrison stoutly refused to surrender. In the fifth year the place was so closely invested, and in such force, that though all attempts to carry the defenses were foiled by the ingenuity and dauntless resolution of the besieged the place was on the verge of reduction by starvation. Half the garrison cut its way out and escaped to Athens; the other half then surrendered at discretion and were all put to death because "they had done nothing to help the Lacedæmonians and their allies."

The second episode is the revolt from the Athenian League of the free island of Lesbos (with the exception of loyal Methymna) headed by Mitylene. This time it was the Peloponnesians who promised aid but sent none. Mitylene was forced to surrender, submitting its fate to the judgment of Athens. So fierce was the wrath of the democracy at the revolt, which could not in this case be attributed to Athenian tyranny, that the Assembly, now led by the notorious or famous Cleon, condemned the entire population to death or slavery. A ship was dispatched with the order; happily it went on its awful errand with no great haste, but it had arrived and the

order was on the point of execution when a second trireme swept into the harbor bearing a reprieve. A second specially summoned meeting of the Assembly had reversed the fatal sentence, and the oarsmen, racing without a moment's relaxation as if their own lives were at stake, arrived barely in time, with a start of twenty-four hours to make up. A strong interest attaches to the debate in the assembly as reported by Thucydides; for in it the question of humanity is entirely ignored, and the decision turns wholly on the political danger of putting in execution a sentence in itself regarded by the assembly as obviously just and legitimate.

This was in the fourth and fifth year; in the fifth also began the episode of the Corcyrean revolution, which the Greek historian makes the text for profound generalizations on the effects of revolutionary frenzy. With the obvious variations in the staging of the tragedy, Corcyra was very much like Paris in the days of the Terror. The oligarchic pro-Corinthian party attempted a "coup d'état," and paid the penalty of failure in full. An Athenian fleet which was on its way to Sicily played a sorry part in the closing scene of the struggle, some two years after its beginning.

There was no second Pericles in whom the democracy could place its trust; the men who took his place were democrats and imperialists, but their democracy was hostility to the class which owed its influence to birth and wealth, and their imperialism was the lust of rule. All the pictures of them that we possess were painted by their enemies, who would allow them no virtues; charges of dishonesty and blank incapacity count for little; but it is not easy to find signs of real statesmanship either in them or in their antagonists, the "gentlemen"—a term which perhaps more nearly than any other expresses the meaning of the epithet they applied to themselves. There were no longer any grand issues at stake; the war party wanted only to extend the dominion of Athens, the peace party only to thwart the war party, while the Peloponnesians mainly desired to humiliate the "tyrant of the seas."

Politics apart, there appeared, one on either side, two military leaders endowed with some originality and initiative, the Athenian Demosthenes and the Spartan Brasidas.

Demosthenes dealt the most effective blow on the part of Athens. While with the fleet, weather-bound off the Messenian coast, he seized and fortified Pylos on the modern Bay of Navarino. The Peloponnesians tried to eject him, but only succeeded in landing a small Spartan force on the island of Sphacteria; which in turn was reduced to such straits that surrender or death was the only possible choice. The Spartans surrendered, much to the surprise of their neighbors, though no one else would have hesitated for a moment; and so long as they remained captive they ceased their annual devastation of Attica.

Pericles, when the thirty years truce was made, had learnt, and never afterwards forgot, that attempted conquests on land were bad policy. Yet the democrats twice tried—and failed—to master Bœotia. In the same year (424) Brasidas with a small body of irregular troops was sent by Sparta to help the malcontents of the Thracian coast and Chalcidice, which broke into general revolt against Athens.

By this time there was a strong peace party in both Athens and Sparta, and in 423 a truce was actually formulated; but it broke down. Brasidas, now playing brilliantly for his own hand in the north, and Cleon at Athens, meant the war to go on; and it was only when both of them were killed in a battle before Amphipolis (422) that the peace parties carried the day and the first stage of the war was concluded by the Peace of Nicias, the Athenian high priest of Respectability. For the time it satisfied Sparta and Athens; but it left Corinth, Megara and Bœotia raging. It had in it no element of durability.

The terms of the peace involved the restoration on both sides of sundry conquests. They were rejected by Sparta's allies; she was unable to enforce them; Athens consequently refused to carry out her part of the bargain. War parties and peace parties predominated alternately in various states; local hostilities broke out in various quarters; kaleidoscopic combinations and dissolu-

tions and recombinations followed in bewildering succession; until in 415 emerges the determination of Athens to embark on the great venture which was to prove her ruin, the Sicilian expedition.

Ostensibly it was in answer to an appeal from Sicilian allies—from Segesta for aid against Selinus, and from Leontini for deliverance from Syracuse. Actually the intention was to absorb Sicily into the Athenian empire. The great advocate of the venture was the brilliant, erratic and utterly unprincipled Alcibiades, an aristocrat who when it suited him posed as a democratic leader; the opposition was led by Nicias. The Athenians enthusiastically adopted the proposal in spite of the huge expenditure and the enormous risks it involved, and then appointed to the command Nicias and Alcibiades, the one as timid and half-hearted as the other was eager and reckless, between whom zealous coöperation was inconceivable; a quite impossible combination. With them was associated the capable soldier Lamachus, who made no pretense to be a politician and possessed no other influence.

A congress of the Sicilian states, under the persuasive influence of the Syracusan Hermocrates, had made it tolerably evident that Sicily generally meant to keep itself clear of that complication, and that outside intervention in Sicilian affairs would be resented.

Athenian imperialism, however, in its most aggressive and wanton form was at fever heat, owing to the successful and utterly inexcusable conquest and annexation of the island of Melos in 416, just when the opportunity for aggressive action in Sicily presented itself. Athens snatched at the chance, and paid the penalty which resulted from the expeditions to Sicily upon which it then embarked.

The expedition which sailed from Athens in 415 was on a scale without precedent. Its departure was immediately preceded by an outrage which can only have been intended to prevent its sailing—the midnight mutilation of the sacred images known as Hermæ. Popular rumor, sedulously fostered, fixed the guilt of the sacrilege upon the notoriously reckless and profane Alcibiades, who immediately challenged trial. As this would have involved delaying the expedition, inquiry was postponed.

POLITICAL DOCUMENT CARVED IN STONE

After the disaster of Ægospotami in 405, Athens had no friend but the democracy of Samos, which offered to help her to continue the war with Sparta. The treaty arranged between the two states was engraved on this marble block, decorated with their patron goddesses, Athena and Hera, on the Acropolis.

Acropolis Museum, Athens

Athenian Expedition to Sicily

THE generals reached Sicily, to find that the promises of financial and military support on which Athens had acted had no material basis. Lamachus,

as a plain soldier, urged an immediate attack on Syracuse, which would probably have been successful. Nicias favored a demonstration, to be followed by retirement. Alcibiades wanted diplomacy to precede the fighting. The schemes of Lamachus being over-ridden, he gave his support to Alcibiades. The military opportunity was lost, and then the whole scheme of diplomacy was wrecked by a summons for Alcibiades to return to Athens and stand his trial—a manifest conspiracy of his enemies at home, working on popular superstition.

Instead of doing so, he intrigued with Sparta against Athens, which was more determined than ever to carry on the Sicilian adventure.

That adventure might still have been successful but for the pathetic confidence of the Athenians in the generalship of the pious but incompetent Nicias, in spite of his own desire to relinquish the command. Diplomacy having broken down, the Athenians laid siege to Syracuse. Their fleet was able completely to blockade the harbor, and there was only a small gap remaining in the siege lines which cut off the city from the interior, when Lamachus, to whom the chief credit so far was due, was killed. That gap Nicias omitted to close; with disastrous results. For it enabled Gylippus—almost but not quite another Brasidas—who had been sent from Sparta to help the Syracusans, to effect an entry; and with his arrival the whole situation changed. Nicias in his dispatches was forced to declare that the whole affair would have to be abandoned unless a second expedition on as large a scale as the first could be sent from Athens.

She was beset now by the whole of the old Peloponnesian alliance. Sparta, urged by Alcibiades, had seized and garrisoned Deceleia, on Attic soil, whence she could conduct raids at any moment. But Athens would not admit defeat; nor did she permit Nicias to resign. But as colleagues she sent in command of a new great force Demosthenes and Eurymedon. In vain.

The Disaster before Syracuse

The second expedition, arriving in the late summer (413), found an already desperate situation, the Athenian forces thoroughly demoralized by failures and defeats, the Syracusans full of confidence, brilliantly led and dominating not only the Great Harbor but the siege lines as well. Desperate endeavors to retrieve the position on land and on sea were disastrously defeated. The Athenian fleet after a severe struggle was cooped up in the harbor, the mouth of which was blocked. A last frantic effort to break out was hopelessly crushed. Retreat inland to friendly territory while there was yet time was the only chance; but before it could begin every line of escape was ambushed or blocked.

Never have the "pity and terror" which are the essence of tragedy been more movingly presented than in the wonderful pages wherein Thucydides tells the story of those last days. Out of those once proud Athenian hosts, all who survived the slaughters and the agonies of that despairing retreat passed what was left to them of life in exiled slavery.

The annihilation of the Sicilian Expedition was the end of the Athenian Empire.

It was not indeed immediately evident that the empire was at an end. Athens maintained the struggle for nine years more. But she had no reserve left to fall back on, no trusted leader who could command steady confidence and carry on a consistent policy. The one man, Alcibiades, who perhaps had the necessary ability, was wholly lacking in the character which was still more necessary. Faction after faction at home snatched an incomplete and precarious control for a time; treason, it can hardly be doubted, was perpetually at work; experimental reconstructions of the constitution followed one after another in rapid succession; but the resolution to fight on to the last gasp never wavered, though the odds had become almost overwhelming.

A year after the Sicilian disaster, all Ionia was in revolt against the "tyrant" state, not realizing that subjection to Persia was still the inevitable alternative to the tyranny. Sparta had never troubled about Ionia, and was quite ready to bargain with the satraps for the downfall of Athens at the price of Ionia, and in particular for the money necessary to keep a fleet in commission. Presently, too, she found in Lysander a

soldier and statesman who could ignore tradition, seize occasion when it offered, act on his own responsibility, and was not to be bribed.

ALCIBIADES, having fallen out with the Spartans, and possibly aiming to make himself tyrant, was intriguing at Athens for his own restoration as a chief of the democrats; the satraps intrigued against each other with Alcibiades or Lysander. The one constant factor is the association of Sparta with one or both of the Persian governors, who intended through her to recover effective dominion in Ionia; and the most surprising feature is the extent to which Athens went on holding her own, in spite of her endless domestic dissensions, for close upon eight years, gaining one notable victory at Arginusæ (406).

Unconquered she remained, maimed and weakened though she was, until the almost incredible carelessness of her naval commander in the Hellespont gave Lysander the chance which he was not the man to let slip, and practically her whole fleet was captured while the crews were on shore at Ægospotami in 405.

Athens without an effective fleet was helpless. By land and sea she was completely blockaded, and in 404 was reduced to unconditional surrender by starvation. It was only one of Sparta's rare momentary flashes of generosity that saved her from the utter obliteration to which the vindictive wrath of her Peloponnesian rivals would have condemned her. Sparta could afford to be generous when generosity did not endanger her political hegemony; she could afford to remember that Hellas owed much to Athens, now that the Athenian Empire was gone beyond recall. The Long Walls were pulled down; but Athens, humiliated, exhausted and shorn of her dependencies, still survived as an independent state, with an inherent power of recuperation which ere long enabled her to resume her position among Hellenic leaders.

Persian Interference in Greek Affairs

THE interest of Persia in Hellenic affairs, which had slumbered since the Peace of Callias in 447, was reviving. Peace had long reigned throughout the vast empire under Artaxerxes I and his grandson, Darius (II) Nothus. So long as Athens was still mistress of the seas Persia had no motive to intervention.

In 412, however, the situation, as we have seen, was changed. The government reasserted the claim, long in abeyance, to tribute from the Ionian cities, and entered upon willing negotiations with the complaisant Spartans who, for the overthrow of Athens, were quite ready to betray the pan-Hellenic cause; and it was through the financial and political coöperation of the satraps that Lysander was barely able in 405 to crush the stubborn resistance of Athens at the price of Ionian freedom.

On the fall of Athens, Sparta set up a tyranny (in the modern sense) of her own over the states which had formed the Athenian Empire, on lines devised and organized by Lysander. The effective government was put in the hands of Spartan officers ("harmosts") who ruled with a rod of iron, infinitely more oppressive than the "slavery" she was professedly abolishing, and resting solely on the irresistible force at her command. She was possessed now with a lust of empire, though the whole system upon which her prestige had been built up was incompatible with the extension of her dominion beyond the borders of the Peloponnese.

Precisely at this moment occurred a remarkable crisis in the history of the Persian empire.

Darius Nothus had two sons. The elder, Artaxerxes (known as "Longimanus"), was his destined successor on the throne, to which however the younger, Cyrus, also aspired. Darius, seeing the obvious dissensions and jealousy between the two weakened satraps, had sent his younger son, a prince of brilliant ability, to the West to watch and really to supersede both.

The March of the Ten Thousand

CYRUS had been quick to grasp the immense superiority of the Greek soldiery over the best of Oriental levies. He had established close personal relations with Lysander, whom he had even left as his lieutenant in his own province during a temporary absence. And he had probably already resolved to seize

the throne by the aid of his Greek friends, when his father died in 404 and Artaxerxes II became king at a moment when the hill-men in the remote interior were causing trouble. Cyrus, in collusion with Sparta, collected a strong force of Greek soldiers of fortune, of whom large numbers were available owing to the termination of the war, ostensibly for the suppression of the insurgents in Pisidia (once a center of Hittite power); with these he marched inland, and then made known to them his real purpose. This was the famous Anabasis, the "Going up" to Susa, the immortal tale whereof was recorded in the matter-of-fact prose of one of the chief actors in the adventure, the Athenian Xenophon.

The adventure failed only because, on the way to Babylon, in the very moment of what should have been decisive victory at Cunaxa, Cyrus himself, in hot pursuit of his brother, was cut down and slain on the field. When Cyrus fell there was nothing more to fight for.

But Cyrus was slain, and the Ten Thousand Greeks, whom the Persians dared not attack directly, elected Xenophon to command them, and made their perilous and famous retreat, having learned the lesson to which seventy years later Alexander was to give such tremendous effect—that Persia was penetrable, and that eastern armies stood no chance against the disciplined spearmen of the West.

On the fall of Cyrus the satraps of Dascylium and Sardis again dominated the West. Sparta, implicated in the great adventure, had broken with both of them. But in Hellas she had set out to establish in practice her own despotic authority, not only in her own dominions proper and in those which had been transferred to her from the Athenian Empire, but—in fact if not in form—among her own allies.

Athens was rapidly recovering, owing largely to the moderation and freedom from the party spirit of the leaders of the restored democracy. Corinth and Thebes, Sparta's old allies, were now seething with indignation at her.

In 395 open war broke out between Thebes and Sparta; next year she found herself faced by a coalition of Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Argos and other states, and was penned in the Peloponnesus. The Persian fleet under its Athenian commander, the exiled Conon, won a decisive victory at Cnidus; and Conon, accompanied by Pharnabazus, paid a visit to Athens, whose recovery was thereupon celebrated and confirmed by the restoration of the Long Walls. Corinth succeeded in holding the barrier of the Isthmus.

The Greeks, however, were so divided among themselves that they failed to take advantage of the position, and were each and all ready for an alliance with the Persian by which their own individual interests might be furthered.

Effects of the "Persian Peace"

Accordingly we now find Sparta, hard pressed by the new confederacy, changing her anti-Persian policy, and, in her own interest, bringing in the Great King as arbiter in the Greek quarrel—and the confederates bowing to his dictation. The diplomacy of the Spartan Antalcidas brought about, in 386, the peace which bears his name, the "Peace sent down by the King." Artaxerxes claimed for Persia all the cities and lands in Asia, with Cyprus. Of the islands, Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros were appropriated to Athens; the rest were to enjoy autonomy, as were all other Greek states—which involved the overthrow of the Theban supremacy in Bœotia.

Practically the peace meant that Sparta had a free hand for the establishment of "autonomy"; and that, as interpreted by her, meant the suppression of all leagues, and of democracies. She used her power—for to the Great King she was now his trusted agent—to suppress the Olynthian or Chalcidian League, which might otherwise have become an invaluable barrier to the aggression of the rising power of Macedon. Incidentally, by an act of gross treachery in collusion with a party in Thebes, she used it to establish her own friends in power, with a Lacedæmonian garrison in the Theban citadel, the Cadmeia, to keep them there, while most of the prominent patriots escaped to Athens, which refused to surrender them.

It was a fatal blunder. In 379-8 a very daring plot was organized by the

exiled Pelopidas. The oligarchs were assassinated, the city rallied to the conspirators, and the great Spartan garrison was only allowed to withdraw ignominiously. For a brief and glorious hour sluggard Thebes displays in herself, or at least in the person of her greatest citizen Epaminondas, the quintessence of the finest qualities of the Hellenic race. A fervent patriot, he yet never set the interests of Thebes above the welfare of Hellas; neither party spirit nor personal ambition ever moved him; we seem in him suddenly to come upon that rare being, the man of genius and the perfect knight in one. From his military genius young Philip of Macedon learned lessons in the art of war which his own wit and the still greater genius of his son, Alexander the Great, were later to turn to full account.

To Epaminondas, acting politically with his warmest friend Pelopidas, and as the head of the Theban armies in the field, it was given to overthrow the Spartan tyranny, and to raise Thebes to the hegemony of Hellas, as the result of his victory at Leuctra in 371. But he fell in the very moment of another decisive victory on the field of Mantinea in 362, two years after the death of Pelopidas on the field of Cynoscephalæ; and the loss of those two great men left Thebes unfitted for the position she had won. The future lay with none of the cities of Greece, not with Thebes or Sparta or Athens, for all had been found wanting in something, but with the state which all had hitherto held in contempt as semi-barbaric or doubtfully Hellenic despite the pretensions of her dynasts—Macedon.

Meanwhile in Sicily, Syracuse, led by Hermocrates, the champion of the doctrine of Sicilian aloofness from the rivalries and from the intervention of Greece proper, had broken the power of Athens with the aid of the Spartan Gylippus. But the struggle had exhausted her. Carthage found her opportunity in an appeal from Segesta against Selinus. To revive oppression, she swooped suddenly upon Selinus and then on Himera. Aid from Syracuse, whence Hermocrates had been ejected by the extreme democrats, arrived too late, and both cities were ruined.

Rise and Policy of Dionysius

The misconduct of the Syracusan generals provided an opportunity for Dionysius, a former partisan of the slain Hermocrates, who had distinguished himself in the recent fighting. Having procured for himself the supreme military command, he used it to establish himself as tyrant, though his unscrupulous despotism was exercised without abrogation of constitutional forms. Actually his first move was to make a treaty with the Carthaginian Himilco, which in effect surrendered half the island to him, but in return actually gave him a Carthaginian guarantee of his own position as lord of Syracuse.

But when at last he felt himself sufficiently secure, he dropped the mask, and renewed the conflict with the Punic power. In Sicily the attitude to military despotism that prevailed all over Hellas was modified by the plain fact that the last liberator from the Carthaginian menace had been Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse; only a soldier wielding despotic powers could again deliver Sicily from that menace, and the abilities of Dionysius were equal to the task. To his genius was due a quite unprecedented development of engineering operations in the conduct of war, coupled with a systematic avoidance of pitched battles; though when occasion demanded a direct encounter he could display high tactical skill.

The Dominions of Syracuse

Having made his own terms satisfactorily with Carthage, Dionysius set about the extension of his dominion over Hellenic states on the mainland. The gate of Italy was Rhegium, which fell to him after a long siege. Against other cities he allied himself with Italian tribes of Lucania, and many of them he won over by an act of calculated magnanimity. Having trapped a large force, he compelled it to surrender unconditionally, and then allowed it to go free without ransom. He went on to plant outposts which were at once garrisons and trading stations on the Adriatic coast of Italy, with a shrewd eye to commercial development. When he died in 367 he was a potentate far more powerful than any other Greek state.

At its greatest extent, the dominion of Dionysius included almost all Sicily, outside the reach of the Carthaginian strongholds in the west. It extended along the south coast of Italy to include Tarentum, all the "heel," the Adriatic coast as far as the spur of Mount Garganus.

From the great fortress of Syracuse this empire was ruled and defended with large mercenary forces, an efficient fleet of new-model ships and every kind of military device, more especially the first batteries of stonethrowing machines. The expenses were enormous, taxation heavy and other financial devices unscrupulous: base coinage, raids on temple treasures and the like. The paramount necessity of conserving his own position at the head of affairs made Dionysius regardless of Greek interests or aspirations which crossed his own, and he did little in detail for the spread of Greek influences or ideas. His service to the Greeks was more elementary, and at the same time more indispensable; for at all events he kept the Carthaginians at bay for more than a generation.

MASTERPIECE OF FORTIFICATION BY SYRACUSAN ENGINEERS

To secure his military power Dionysius made the ramparts of Syracuse extraordinarily formidable, while the key fortress of Epipolæ, planned by the great Archimedes, was unique in its strength. Built on a rocky height, its walls were massive enough to resist heavy missiles, while its war-engines were the most efficient then known. Above, a sally port in one of the three fosses cut in the solid rock to guard the way of approach; in the background are piers that supported a drawbridge.

Contemporary Events in Italy

But his empire was the child of his personality. His dynasty and his system had no roots in the past. His heir, Dionysius II, would have had great possibilities before him, had he not been of another caliber. But he lacked his father's qualities; and between his incapacity and the idealism of Dion, the minister left him by the great tyrant, the tyrant's empire went to pieces in a few years.

Meanwhile, the city on the Tiber, Rome, was moving along the path which was to carry her step by step to a goal undreamed of as yet by her. She was not consciously seeking dominion. Probably dominion would have come to her much more rapidly, though in other guise perhaps, if she had not broken free from her Etruscan despots.

Her revolt had made her the champion of Latinism against both Etruscans and Sabellian or Oscan hill-men, Æquians and Volscians. Consequently she is perpetually at war, attacked by or attacking her

Etruscan neighbor Veii, or the Volscians or Æquians.

When the Etruscan sea power was shattered by Hieron of Syracuse at Cumæ the menace from Etruria was so much weakened that for nearly forty years there was no war with Veii. The Æquian and Volscian powers were broken; in all the wars of the fifth century the balance of victory is with Rome and her allies. Usually this involved a cession of territory to the victors, the lion's share going in effect to Rome, whose strength constantly increased relatively to the other cities of Latium. She becomes in fact all but mistress of Latium before the fifth century is ended; the cities remain autonomous, but they are subject to her suzerainty.

A final war with Veii ended with definite conquest (396) which added a great area on the west of the Tiber to Roman territory. The decisive victory was in part due to the pressure on Etruria of a new enemy, the Gauls, who by this time had completely overrun the basin of the Po and were now penetrating through the Apennines into Etruria itself.

When Veii fell, Etruria was already being submerged by the Celtic flood. Six years later (390) it burst into Rome itself. Legends afterwards accumulated about that invasion; of the barbarians who broke into the Senate House and were awe-stricken by the sublime dignity of the silent seated senators; of the attempt to surprise the Capitol, frustrated by the startled cackling of the sacred geese; of the huge ransom that was being weighed out when the Gallic chief Brennus tossed his sword into the scale with the words "Vae victis," Woe to the vanquished; of the sensational deliverance wrought by the hero Camillus, the conqueror of Veii. The definite fact which survives is that the Gauls, having swept devastatingly over Etruria, poured into Rome, sacked it, and then rolled back to the north.

GREEK-ARMED SAMNITE RAIDER

Naturally bold and determined fighters, the Samnites, Sabellian hill-men, became a serious danger to the Latin cities when they adopted Greek arms.

The Louvre

Etruria never recovered from the blow; Rome reeled under it. Æquians and Volscians, joined even by some of the dependent allies, seized the moment to make a last desperate stroke for the breaking of the Rome ascendancy, only to be themselves finally broken by her indomitable tenacity (389). The Latin League was reorganized in a form which made it even more dependent on Rome than before; its chief city, Tusculum, was absorbed, while her people received full Roman citizenship (380). Rome was queen of all Latium from the hills to the Mediterranean, from the borders of Campania to the Tiber, and had finally brought under her sway a substantial section of Etruria. At this moment the long struggle between Patricians and Plebeians was definitely decided in favor of the plebs by abolition of the privileges which restricted administrative offices to men of patrician birth.

Political Development of Rome

We have already noted that when Rome expelled her kings her government was in the hands of a close aristocracy, who alone held the executive

offices or magistracies and exercised priestly functions. They alone had the power of initiating legislation in the Popular Assembly, the Comitia Centuriata, which passed it; the voting therein being so arranged that its decisions were practically under patrician control. The patricians had so far misused their power that the plebs had been driven to wring from them the appointment of Tribunes, who, without being magistrates, had powers of intervention to prevent arbitrary action by magistrates—meant only as a defensive step. The tribunate was a clumsy enough device, especially as its intervention could be called into play capriciously.

Moreover, the patricians not only administered the law; the magistrates themselves were the only authority who could declare what the law was. The next demand was for a published written code. In 451 a commission of ten, the Decemviri, was appointed as an interim government charged with the drawing up of the code, which was afterwards known as the Twelve Tables. The decemvirate was renewed, attempted to establish itself as a permanent oligarchy, and was overthrown in the popular revolt to which tradition attached the tragic legend of Virginia.

The Battle of the Orders

Now the battle of the orders was twofold. The wealthier influential commoners resented the social and political privileges of the patrician families and their own corresponding disabilities; the poorer felt only that the law was being consistently wrested to their detriment for the convenience of patricians, especially the laws under which lands owned or acquired by the state, the "ager publicus," were distributed. The plebs united to demand reform in both directions, but had no machinery to give effect to its wishes except the clumsy tribunate and the emphasizing of popular sentiment in the formal resolutions—which had no force except as mere expressions of opinion—of its own assemblies.

The patricians found it at least politic to make occasional concessions—often indeed such that their expected effect could be practically evaded. As early as 445 they were obliged to legalize marriage between patrician and plebeian; but they fought to the last against admitting plebeians to the magistracies. In fact, it was only when the old warrior Camillus, the hero of aristocratic conservatism, realized that is was no use to keep up the struggle against the inevitable, that the measure known as the Licinian Rogations, combining the agrarian and constitutional demands of the plebs, was passed in 367. The agrarian part of it was too easily evaded to be effective in the long run: but the enactment that thenceforth one of the consuls must be a plebeian was the death-blow to the privileges of the old aristocracy.

THE HIGH TIDE OF GREEK LIFE

A PICTURE OF THE FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENIAN AT WORK AND PLAY IN THE GREAT DAYS OF PERICLES

F. A. WRIGHT

Professor of Classics in the University of London; Author of 'Greek Social Life,' 'Life in the Ancient World,' 'Arts in Greece,' etc.

To draw a picture of fifth-century Greece that shall exhibit all the multitudinous details of Hellenic life is not altogether a simple task. In the day of her greatness Greece was neither a political nor a social unity. Divided and segregated by difficult mountain ranges, the Hellenic states in many cases had little intercourse one with the other, and clung obstinately to their own particular form of government and domestic institutions.

It was only in the face of foreign invasion or when they were threatened by the overweening ambition of one of their own number that they would combine for common action. In normal times Thessaly and Boeotia, Argos, Corinth and Sparta were small separate communities and lived their own separate lives. Their people were sprung originally from the same stock, worshipped the same gods and spoke dialects of the same language; but in their actual modes of living the differences between them were as great as the points of resemblance. Moreover, the Greek civilization was never at any period confined to the Greek mainland.

By a stroke of good fortune one state in Greece realized the advantages that would ensue to the city which should set herself resolutely in the van of progress, and by encouraging aliens to settle within her walls concentrate in one place all the different manifestations of the Greek genius. That state was Athens; and if we can obtain a clear view of Athens at work and Athens at play then we shall get a fair idea of Greek life as a whole.

In accordance with the popular conception of the ancient Greek we imagine him as a gentleman of unlimited leisure whose material wants were supplied for him by the labor of slaves, he himself being left free to devote his life to politics and fighting, the care of his body and the training of his mind. There is some truth in this description if we confine our outlook to Sparta and to those few states which took as their model the Spartan system of discipline; but, as regards the greater part of Greece, it can be accepted only with reservations.

At Athens, just as in a modern city, the majority of citizens were engaged in some form of private occupation. Where they differed from the people of most modern countries is that they would not allow their business to engross all their energy and time. They did not feel any exorbitant desire to accumulate large fortunes, for they valued equality above wealth; their needs were simple and the result of their moderate industry was that they had neither a class of idle rich nor of indigent poor.

A few old families existed, like the Alcmaeonidae to which Pericles belonged, whose inherited wealth, invested in real estate, would have enabled them to live in idleness. But wealth with the Athenians was not regarded as an excuse for luxury; it was rather held to be an opportunity for giving freely in money, time and trouble to the service of the state.

The earliest, and during the first half of the fifth century the most important, of the Attic industries was that of agriculture. The ownership of land was a privilege confined to Athenian citizens, and as the tenancy system was unpopular, occupier and cultivator were usually the same person. Of the whole body of Athenians it is probable that more than half were actually owners and workers of the soil. In the middle of the fifth century, besides a relatively small number of large proprietors whose estates were managed by stewards, there were some twenty thousand working farmers tilling their own fields, and a considerable number of agricultural laborers, many of

THE ACROPOLIS, ROCKY HEART OF THE 'CITY OF THE VIOLET CROWN'

The stronghold of the earliest kings of Athens, the Acropolis—a long mass of rock with precipitous slopes—was the fortress-sanctuary of the ancient Athenians, the center of their cultural life. Today, as will be seen from this photograph taken from the south-west, it dominates the modern city as it did its ancient predecessor, but only ruined shells, majestic in their decay, remain of the magnificent edifices that in classical times crowned its summit. In the background are (left to right), the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, while in the foreground is the Odeum. A plan is given in page 647, and another view in Chapter 28.

whom possessed a small parcel of land. These worked for hire as shepherds or woodmen, and eked out their livelihood by keeping bees on the heights of Hymettus or burning charcoal in the forests of Acharnae.

The normal-sized farm was one of about forty acres: thirty acres or so of arable producing corn and vegetables, four or five acres of vineyard and olive groves, the rest in orchard and pasture. From such a farm as this came those sturdy rustics whom Aristophanes regarded as the backbone of the state. Living in the country under the healthiest conditions for the greater part of the year, they formed an invaluable counterpoise to the less stable city dwellers, and the ruin of the medium-sized farm in Attica was one of the worst results of the Peloponnesian War.

For a farmer the market-place, Agora, was the most important spot in Athens. The oil from his olive trees was exported to most parts of the Mediterranean world, and there was also an extensive foreign trade in the honey of Hymettus. For the disposal of the rest of his produce the Attic husbandman depended upon his home market.

Of corn he could grow on his light stony soil only a quarter of what the country needed, but with vegetables—cabbage, lentils, peas, onions and garlic—the city was supplied mostly by its own people. Fruit, especially figs, was always in demand, and so were roses to make the wreaths necessary at every banquet and temple offering. The Athenians were not great meat eaters. Such oxen as came to market were animals specially chosen and fattened for sacrifice to the gods; goats were chiefly valued for their milk, and the cheese that was made from it; sheep for their wool. Pigs' flesh, however, fresh and cured in all its forms from bacon to black puddings, was a popular luxury, and took much the same place in Athenian diet as it does with country folk in our own days.

Supplies of all these commodities were brought to the Agora from the country every morning. The market-place itself was a piece of level ground near the Acropolis and the Areopagus, surrounded by official buildings. It had neither the regular proportions nor the elegant decorations usual in Ionian cities; but such as it was, it formed the center of the town's life.

In times of peace the market was not confined to Athenians, or even to foodstuffs. Theban fruit-growers brought to Athens their pears and apples; fishermen from Copais came in with fat eels for which their lake was famous; peasants from Megara added their quota of pigs to the home-fed article.

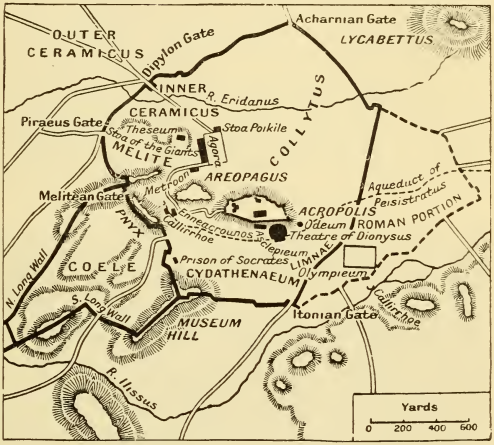
And besides eatables nearly everything that could be bought or sold was to be found at one time or another in the Agora and the narrow streets that led into it. In dark little shops, unfronted and open to the road, confectioners set out their pastry, potters their cups and jars, ironworkers the swords and spears and shields that every Athenian one day would need.

All this was trafficking of a very simple kind, and when, during the fifth century, Athens began to grow into an imperial city, her commercial as well as her political ambitions quickly expanded. As long as her trade depended on land routes nothing on a larger scale could be attempted, for the cost of transport over any distance was so great that it precluded all chance of profit. But there was always the sea close at hand, with its infinite possibilities, if only a good harbor could be secured; and to the task of providing that harbor Athens, after the Persian Wars, turned all her energies.

Piraeus, once established, soon became a center of world trade. Into her docks came all the produce of the lands about the Black Sea: Athenian agents were always on the watch at the Dardanelles, and the warships, intended by the Delian Confederation to fight against Persia, were now used to shepherd all westbound vessels to their proper destination.

Corn, Athens' chief necessity, she drew mostly from this source, supplemented by smaller shipments from Italy, Sicily and Egypt. From the Black Sea, too, came dried fish and salt meat together with most of the raw materials on which the artificer worked—iron, copper and leather for the armorer, pitch, tow and timber for the shipwright, fine woods of every sort for the cabinet-maker and joiner. And beside them there were the many luxuries in whose disposal the middleman found his profit: carpets from Persia, bronzes from Etruria, perfumes from Arabia, papyrus, muslin and little nigger boys from Egypt.

In order to cope with this traffic an elaborate organization was required. The western side of Piraeus was reserved for the war fleet; naval arsenals, galley ships and repairing docks fringed the shore.



PLAN OF FIFTH-CENTURY ATHENS

As rebuilt under the direction of Themistocles, the walls of Athens had a circuit of about 4½ miles, exclusive of the Long Walls connecting the city with Piraeus, its fortified seaport. The principal entrance was the Dipylon Gate, whence streets led to the Agora and, skirting the Areopagus, to the Acropolis.

On the western side also were the corn granaries. The eastern side belonged to the merchant service of the state.

To one quay came the passenger boats which ran to Eleusis and Aegina, Corinth and the island. By another wharf the timber ships were berthed, and by another the fruit transports. Close to the docks entrance stood the Deigma, an exchange where samples could be seen and tested. Near it was the Agora, where goods were sold wholesale, and in the immediate vicinity the offices of the port inspectors and corn controllers, and the "tables" of the bankers and money-lenders, most of them aliens of Semitic origin. Outside the docks was the business town, taverns and slave-fed brothels, crowded with sailors, fishermen and the riff-raff of a Mediterranean port.

Necessarily, the goods that came into Piraeus had to be paid for, and to establish the balance of imports and exports required from Athens a considerable effort. By the end of the fifth century the city had become a beehive of industrious workers. The "metics," resident aliens whom Pericles had encouraged to settle in Athens, were largely responsible for this industrial development, and in some industries they played much the same part as the Flemings and Huguenots did in England. Slave labor also was an important factor.

But the poorer class of citizens, working side by side with alien and slave, was frequently drawn into the industrial current, and it may be interesting to consider at close quarters two typical Athenian craftsmen, the stonemason who

SPLENDID CENTER OF ATHENS IN CLASSICAL TIMES

In this reconstruction by Bühlmann there may be seen the Acropolis height with the statue of Athene, the roof of the Parthenon, and the Propylaea complex. In the foreground is the Agora, with the Stoa or Portico of Attalos on the left and the Bouleuterion or Senate house at the back. In front are the shrine and statue of Eirene and Ploutos, with the Bema or rostrum in the center of the steps.

adorned the city with the buildings that were its chief pride, and the potter who produced the best example we possess of truly popular art.

The stonemasons' guild was one of the most important in Athens. The raw material of their finest work was a native product, the marble quarried from the sides of Mount Pentelicus, and throughout the great period a succession of public contracts kept them busily employed. The Parthenon, the Propylaea and the Erechtheum were all thus built; and the accounts of payments made for labor on the Erechtheum give us first-hand evidence of industrial conditions in the last years of the fifth century.

BEING MEASURED FOR NEW SHOES

Greek shoemakers measured their customers for shoes by the simple method of drawing the outline of their feet on the leather, afterwards cutting out the imprint with a curved knife. This vase painting shows also an assistant sewing leather for the uppers, and lasts, awls and strips of leather on the walls.

From Monumenti dell' Instituto, Rome

The state found all material and implements, and there was no cast-iron system that determined the distribution of the work. For some parts of the building a master mason is employed as foreman, and his workmen are paid direct by the state. For other parts he takes a contract and, accepting all responsibility, employs his men at piece wages. About a quarter of the manual labor is supplied by citizens, the rest by metics and slaves. Lastly, every category of worker from the chief architect down to the humblest day laborer, if the state pays the wages, receives exactly the same amount, one drachma a day.

Like the stonemason, the potter had his materials ready to his hand; the clay of Cape Colias was as indispensable to him as the marble of Pentelicus was to his fellow craftsman, and even before the Persian Wars the finest examples of his skill were exported, especially to Italy, on a large scale. From the very first metics were engaged in the trade, and the names of many of the vase painters plainly indicate their alien origin. But it is possible that often the master potter to whom the workshop belonged was an Athenian and that he employed the foreign designer. In any case the potter tended to hand on his business to his son, his workshop was a family affair, and the apprenticeship system was usual.

If we had walked through the potters' quarter we should have found, not a dozen large factories employing hundreds of hands and turning out the same article, but a hundred or so of small workshops, each with a staff of about a dozen, and never repeating themselves. His cups and pots and vases were meant for daily use, but to the potter they were things of beauty; and it was only fitting that the prize for the victor in the Panathenaic contests should usually be an amphora made by an Attic craftsman and filled with Attic oil.

The typical Athenian was an artist first and a tradesman afterwards. Everything that came from his workshop bore the mark of his own personality. He made every trade into an art, just as the Roman made every art into a trade. In most workshops half a dozen slaves sufficed for the rough preliminary work; the finished article was the product of free labor. In only one industry were slaves employed on a large scale—the silver mines.

Laurium, situated in the promontory of Sunium, was the nearest equivalent that Athens possessed to a "Black Country," and the silver and lead extracted from the mines there were as important

in the national economy as iron and coal are to England. That silver existed at Laurium had always been known, but it was not till 483 B.C., just before the invasion of Xerxes, that operations on a large scale began.

The state assumed ownership, and mining concessions at a high rent were given out on contract. Only citizens were eligible to hold a claim; they organized their

BEAUTY IMMOBILIZED IN STONE

One of the most charming architectural survivals of classical Athens is the Ionic temple called the Erechtheum, situated to the north of the Parthenon on the Acropolis. This photograph shows the porch of the Caryatides, which seemingly gave access to the tomb of Cecrops, a legendary king of the city.

Photo, Alinari

workings as they pleased, and took their profit from the sale of the ore. Most of the big fortunes in Athens owed their origin to this source.

But the general rule was for a man to invest in a small claim, hire or buy a gang of about thirty slaves, and be content with a steady, moderate income. The mint was the mine-owner's best customer, and from his silver ingots, doubly refined, were stamped the Attic tetradrachms, known as the "owls of Laurium."

Without slave labor the mines could not have been worked, and of the adult male slaves in Attica it has been calculated that more than half were thus employed. When a slave found himself at Laurium he stayed there, often for no very long period, until he died. The conditions were bad, the hours long—ten hours' work followed by ten hours' rest—and the labor exhausting. A man of ordinary humanity preferred not to visit his concession at Laurium; he regarded it as a necessity and thought about it as little as possible.

He was the more able to do this because his own time was very fully occupied. An Athenian did not delegate to others the task of governing; he took an active part himself in running the state. The idea at the back of his democracy was equality—not equality in wealth or social position or intellectual ability, which he knew to be impossible, but equality in rights and opportunities for social service. Every citizen of Athens was equal before the law, and, furthermore, every citizen had an equal chance with his fellows of legislating and of administering justice.

To begin with, there was a very large number of executive posts and boards of officers, posts of no particular importance and very slenderly paid. These places were held for one year only, no one was eligible twice, and the appointment was made by lot from all who offered themselves. This system ensured that as many citizens as possible became acquainted with the details of government and the responsibilities of office. For the more important positions, such as the Board of Generals and the Treasury Board, where special qualifications were held to be necessary, an election was held. But the Council of Five Hundred, which was the nearest approach that Athens had to a modern government, was, like the mass of minor officials, appointed annually by lot from the whole body of the people; and if the lot fell upon a man, he was obliged to serve.

A committee of fifty members of the Council, sitting for five weeks, attended to all matters of public urgency, convened the Council when necessary, and four times in each month summoned the citizens to a general Assembly.

The Assembly met only once a week, and often its proceedings were such a pure formality that no great importance attached to them. The real instrument whereby the sovereign people kept a check upon the executive was the "Heliaea," the Jury Courts. These were the very center of the democratic system.

On every business day five thousand Athenians gave their services to the state as jurymen, and received from the state half a drachma as their day's fee. Arranged in ten panels of five hundred each, they took their places in the morning, each panel in its allotted court, and settled themselves to listen to what an Athenian most loved, a display of eloquence and forensic skill, before giving at the end of the day their own final and decisive verdict. Thus was nearly every matter of public importance eventually considered by the Courts.

Their most important function lay in their dealings with politicians, legislators and magistrates. If a politician, for example, had succeeded in inducing the Council to propose and pass a decree through the Assembly, he could still be indicted in the Courts on the very general ground that his decree contravened the spirit of the Athenian constitution. Again, if a man wished to repeal an old law or to introduce a new law, the Courts acted as a judicial committee.

Directly after his election a magistrate's fitness for office could be legally challenged. At any time during his year's tenure he could be impeached before a jury for malversation. His accounts were audited every month on the Court's instructions, and at the end of the year he had to submit to a judicial inquiry into all his acts. Athenian jurors took their responsibilities very seriously, and attendance at the Courts must certainly have occupied a large part of an elderly citizen's time, while men of military age, besides taking their part in all these civic duties, were constantly liable to be called up for service in the forces of the state.

We have now enumerated most of the forms of work in which Athenians engaged, and have traced the progress of industry at Athens for nearly a hundred years. The citizens, who at the beginning of the fifth century had been mostly all farmers, began during the brilliant years of Pericles' administration to take up their homes within the bounds of the city, to devote less personal attention to their fields and to give their time more and more to politics and public business. Agriculture fell somewhat into the background, and by the year 430 B.C. Athens, becoming the chief financial and commercial center in the Mediterranean, drew the greater part of her wealth from her ships, her mines and her workshops.

In the year 480, out of thirty thousand Athenians, about twenty thousand could

FRAGILE RELICS OF ATTIC LIFE

On the left (above) is a lekythus or oil-pot of the type used for anointing the dead and so placed in great numbers in tombs. It shows a young soldier being laid in his tomb by Death and Sleep. Next it is a lovely kylix, displaying Aphrodite riding on a goose.

British Museum

be classed as poor men; in 431, while the total of citizens had risen to forty thousand, the proletariat was no larger than it had been half a century before; the increase of ten thousand was entirely due to the increase in the well-to-do middle class. The members of this latter section of society though they did not engage in manual labor or in retail trade, still led, as we have seen, very busy lives, dividing their energies fairly equally between the supervision of their landed property and invested capital, and the general interests of the state. Below them in the social scale, although their equals in all political rights, came the twenty thousand poorer citizens, who depended on manual labor and the meaner forms of trade.

CERAMICS AT ITS BEST

Greek vase forms and vase painting reached their highest expression at Athens in the mid-fifth century B.C., and one of the finest examples is this splendid amphora, on which is depicted Victory pouring out wine for a young warrior.

British Museum

This was the class that derived the greatest material benefits from the democratic system. For them Pericles organized his great building schemes; for them payment for all public services was introduced; if they wished to attend the theater they could claim the price of admission; if they served as jurors they took the three-obol fee; and if they were killed in battle their orphans were reared at the country's expense. We may conjecture that the help they obtained from the state, added to their own earnings, enabled them to keep well above the poverty line; but they certainly had to work and to work hard. Still, as Pericles says in his Funeral Oration, Athens, in her care for all citizens, devised for them many forms of recreation to relieve the strain of life; and to Athenian amusements we may next turn. Our first scene must be the theater.

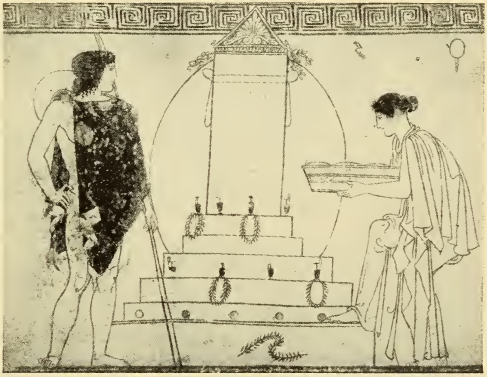
An early spring morning, 458 B.C., in the precinct of the god Dionysus on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis. The city is full of strangers come on business or pleasure from Asia and the islands; for although Athens is at war with Corinth and Aegina, her fleet still keeps the sea open, and today citizens and strangers are flocking to the theater, where, in the god's honor, the new plays for the year are to be performed. Since sunrise there has been a steady stream of spectators climbing up the steep gangways on the hillside and distributing themselves upon the tiers of wooden benches which form the auditorium.

There is room in the spacious semicircle for nearly twenty thousand people, and the ushers are busy packing them closely together in the narrow seats. The more luxurious have brought cushions to sit on, and the more careful nuts and fruit; for this is an all-day ceremony.

From the open hill they can see, in the luminous haze of the Attic atmosphere, the white road stretching across the plain from the flat brown roofs of the upper city to Piraeus. Salamis, with its glorious memories, and hostile Aegina, the eyesore of Piraeus, both seem quite close, and beyond Argolis a gleam of whiteness betrays the summit of Mount Cyllene, eighty miles away in the heart of the Peloponnese.

To the majority of the audience the view is too familiar to excite admiration and they prefer to spend their time in looking about them and conversing with their neighbors. Topics are not lacking, for the merits of the previous day's performance is always discussed, and a true Athenian is never weary of talk.

One man, it appears, is acquainted with the leader of the chorus, and he assures his friends that a new tenor has been engaged for the leading role, and that the choral odes surpass in grandeur and complexity of rhythm all that even Aeschylus has yet produced. Another declares that to his certain knowledge the plays will be mounted with a magnificence never before attempted; one of the wealthiest citizens in Athens has undertaken to bear the cost and no expense will be spared. A third man is able to give the reasons for this lavish generosity; there are political forces at work, he whispers, and Aeschylus intends to champion the rights of the Areopagus which Pericles and his friends have been so busy lately in whittling away. People of position are not altogether pleased with this new state socialism, and it will be found today that Aeschylus is their spokesman.



CUT OFF IN THE FLOWER OF HIS YOUTH

A master's hand is evident in this funeral vase in the National Museum, Athens. It depicts the shade of an Athenian youth wearing the characteristic 'chlamys,' watching a girl bringing offerings to lay upon his own gravestone, on the steps of which tributes of wreaths and oil flasks are already deposited.

From Pfuhl, 'Masterpieces of Greek Painting,' Chatto & Windus

At this performance the contemporaries of Aeschylus, the men who fought and won at Marathon, are more conspicuous than usual, for many of the younger citizens are away on active service. Some are with the grand fleet in Egypt, others are on the southern frontier ready to repel a Corinthian attack, others guard the north against the ever-present menace of Boeotia. The partisans of Pericles in the theater are for once in the minority, and when at last the "Olympian" appears and takes his place of honor in the front row, he is greeted with as many cries of reproach as cheers of welcome. He sits unmoved and thoughtful as the foreign ambassadors file into their reserved seats: grandees from Thessaly in richly embroidered robes, envoys from Argos angling for support in the Peloponnese and, most exciting spectacle of all, the three swarthy Egyptians who have persuaded the Board of Generals to help them against the power of Persia.

Following the envoys are the ten judges, chosen by lot, who will decide the prize of victory to the best set of plays. Then the great theater falls silent; the aged priest of Dionysus is seen coming from sacrifice to the god. He walks slowly to his central throne with hands uplifted to Heaven; a flute trills out one silvery note; and the "Agamemnon" begins.

Our next picture will be again one where spectacle and religion are combined. It is now a late July morning in the Outer Ceramicus, 438 B.C. The greatest of all the festivals is being celebrated, the Panathenaea, the festival of Athene, patron goddess of the city. So elaborate are the preparations required that this particular feast takes place only once in four years.

Two decades have passed since the glorious year when the "Agamemnon" was first performed. For a moment war has

ceased, and in this brief breathing space the people have been able to devote all their energies to the arts of peace and to the adornment of their town.

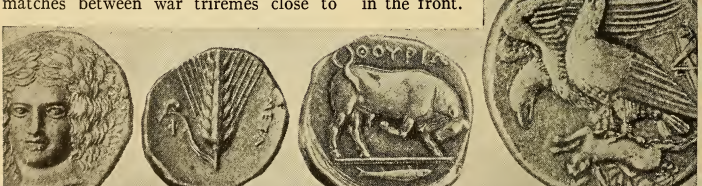
THE Outer Ceramicus has been laid out by Cimon as a public resort, the Inner Ceramicus beautified by frescoed porticoes and colonnades. The theater of Dionysus has been remodelled by Pericles, and near it the covered building of the Odeum erected for musical performances. Above all, the Acropolis has been made the visible center of the wealth, the piety and the festive splendor of the imperial city. There, for the last nine years, the Parthenon has been in course of building. Pheidias himself has made from ivory and gold the image of the goddess whose abode on earth the Parthenon is to be and all Athens is alert to see her take possession of her new home.

All through the week competition has followed on competition, procession on procession, and feast on feast. On the first day musical and literary contests in the Odeum and recitations from Homer. On the next two days gymnastic sports of every kind, and on the third night the relay torch race in which teams compete one against the other, passing from hand to hand a blazing torch without permitting it to go out, and finishing at the Cave of Pan just outside the city wall.

The fourth day was given up to chariot racing and to exhibitions of horsemanship in the Hippodrome near Piraeus, and on that evening there were rowing matches between war triremes close to the shore. Finally, on the fifth day, there was a typically Greek event, a beauty contest confined to that sex which Greeks considered superior, the male.

All these competitions, however, are only a prelude to the great processional offering which is to take place on this, the sixth day of the festival. From daybreak the Ceramicus has been the center of busy preparations. The white cattle for sacrifice and the sheep that the colonies send as offerings to the goddess are drawn up in lines. The richer youths of Athens have groomed their sturdy little horses, donned their short riding cloaks, their crested helmets and their bright metal greaves, and are waiting the order to ride off bare-back. Near them stand the four-horse chariots, their drivers gay in festal attire. The victors in the games, wearing their crowns of olive leaves, have had their station assigned to them, and flute players are ready to pipe a triumphant march.

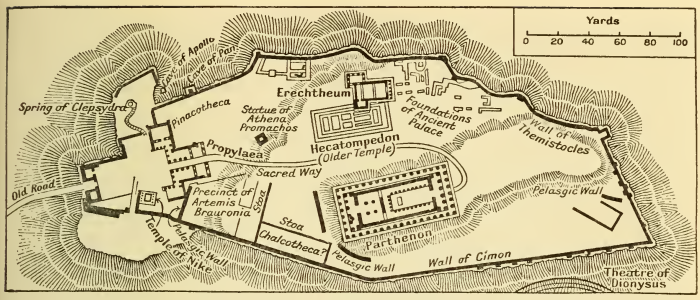
Even the aliens are allowed a humble share in the city's rejoicing. As a reminder of their dependent condition, however, they carry stools and parasols for the Athenian girls, who on this occasion, alone in the year, play a prominent part in a public ceremony. Under priestly supervision, chosen maidens have for months been weaving the robe wherewith the goddess this day is to be invested, and they are now ready to escort it to the temple. The robe itself, fastened sailwise to a ship moving on wheels, is in the front.



LOVELY ARTISTRY IN GREEK COIN-MAKING

The Attic tetradrachm (see page 798) became so firmly established as the standard Greek coin that no attempt was made to change its somewhat crude design. In other states, however, Greek genius produced such exquisitely beautiful silver coins as this tetradrachm with laurel-wreathed Apollo from Catana, stater with tiny field-mouse on an ear of barley from Metapontum, distater with charging bull from Thurii and decadrachm with eagles on a dead hare from Acragas.

From Dr. G. F. Hill, 'Select Greek Coins,' G. Van Oest, Paris



PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Themistocles erected the existing north wall of the Acropolis after the departure in 479 B.C. of the Persians, who had destroyed the earlier fortifications. The wall on the south and east sides was added after the victory of the Eurymedon in 467 B.C. by Cimon, who also extended and heightened Themistocles' wall and leveled the ground until the enclosed area received its present shape and dimensions. The great monuments of the classical epoch date from the age of Pericles.

From the Ceramicus through the market-place, the solemn pomp makes its way to the open space before the Acropolis. The riders dismount and in closed ranks mount the marble stairway. The Board of Generals with Pericles at their head, the treasurers and the temple priests, are waiting to receive them before the colossal bronze figure of Athene Promachos. The victims are led off for sacrifice, and the robe is carried into the shrine, where the ivory limbs of the new statue gleam in the subdued light, to be draped reverently upon her shoulders. A herald from the top of the steps cries out to the people that the goddess has deigned to accept their offering, and citizens, aliens, slaves and foreigners disperse for one great final carouse before they take up the burden of work upon the following day.

To continue our picture of fifth-century Athens, let us take an Athenian's daily recreation and imagine that it is a spring afternoon, 424 B.C., outside the city walls in the grove of Academus. The sun is shining brightly and small groups of men, with stout sandals on their feet and carrying walking-sticks, are making their way leisurely to the playing-fields upon the banks of the Cephisus.

The wide expanse of ground sloping down to the river is already thickly dotted with men of all ages from eighteen to seventy. From the roadway you may see them passing first into a range of low white buildings which front the play-

WINE FOR LIBATIONS TO ATHENE

Preceded by a marshal, youths bearing offerings marched in the great Panathenaic procession. Some carried trays or baskets of assorted gifts; some like the three here pictured, large pitchers filled with wine. Behind them came the musicians, four flute players and four lyre players in each little band.

Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari

YOUNG KNIGHTS PREPARING FOR THE PROCESSION

The Ceramicus by the Dipylon Gate was the place where the Panathenaic procession was marshalled, and from daybreak it was the scene of busy preparations. Detached incidents in these were chosen by Pheidias as subjects for the west frieze of the Parthenon. This slab, for example, depicts a young Athenian donning his short riding cloak, and another, already cloaked, fastening his greaves. Their small and sturdy horses, bare-backed but groomed to perfection, stand beside them.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

ing-fields. Through a passage they enter a large hall, the Apodyterion, opening directly on to the colonnade which surrounds the central court.

Here the athlete's first task is to strip himself of his clothes. All physical exercises are performed naked, and to wear even a loin cloth is the mark of a barbarian, a relic of that false shame from which the Greeks so happily freed themselves. His next business is to anoint himself all over with oil, and carefully to rub it into his skin.

His oiling over, our athlete goes next into the Konisterion and powders himself freely with dust, which was thought to close the pores of the skin, check excessive perspiration and keep the body cool.

Then at last he is ready for exercise. If he is alone he will probably visit the Korykeion, and wrestle with the heavy sacks that hang there, or punch the lighter balls, before he goes into the open to practice running and jumping. But it is more likely that he will have a companion, and then the pair will engage in a wrestling or a boxing match.

After their wrestling the two friends may take a turn at throwing the discus or flinging the javelin, exercises designed to strengthen the body muscles which in modern life are so neglected; and then they will perhaps find it advisable to repair to the bath house. Like everything else in the Academy, this is a very simple affair, a bare room with a large stone basin on a stand. There they will scrape the oil, dust and dirt from their limbs with a flesh scraper, and swill each other down by turns from a bucket. Their toilet thus completed, they will resume their clothes and stroll out again, this time as spectators.

There is no lack of interesting sights to engage their attention. In one place a little company has hired a flute player, and to the sound of his music are leaping, one after the other, with dumb-bells in their hands, into the long-jump pit. In another a squad of military enthusiasts has been drilling in full panoply of sword, shield, spear and helmet.

A cock-fight is going on in a quiet corner, and upon the level ground by the river two teams of young men are engaged in a vigorous ball game, while in the shady colonnade parties of their eld-

Seated figures are less common than standing ones in Greek terra-cotta work, but they are equally charming and instructive in their freedom from the conventional poses of classical sculpture. These figures of girls playing knuckle-bones illustrate the negligent way of wearing the chiton indoors and the style of coiffure, and incidentally suggest the somewhat ineffective life of Greek women and girls.

Tanagra in Boeotia has proved the most fruitful source of the terra-cotta figures of 'genre' types so popular with the Greeks, and the 'korai,' or maidens, of fourth- and third-century B.C. manufacture are invaluable as illustrating the daily life of Greek women. Here we see the mode of draping chiton and himation, leaving the hands free (right), and of drawing the mantle hood-fashion over the head (center) and closely round the figure concealing the arms. The shady hat worn out of doors appears on the left.

CUSTOMS AND COSTUMES OF WOMEN OF ANCIENT GREECE

British Museum

MY LADY'S TOILET IN THE DAYS OF PERICLES

Woman's life in classic Athens was rather aimless, her toilet being her principal occupation apart from actual supervision of her children and home. Maids doing their mistresses' hair, lacing their sandals and bringing them trinkets or perfumes are the subject of the decoration on many of their jewel-boxes. These were called 'pyxides' because in most instances they were of boxwood, but they were also made of terra-cotta. They were usually cylindrical, with a cover, and stood on three feet.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmaleret,' Bruckmann A.G.

ers are equally intent on draughts and chess. The colonnade is also the recognized place for discussions, and a number of people, are gathered there about a thick-set, snub-nosed man going prematurely bald, who, by a process of question and answer, is proving to his own satisfaction that neither he nor his auditors can be said really to know anything. Each one of these groups our two friends will visit in turn, acquiring wisdom in the process, until the cool of evening comes and they stroll back to Athens.

In the temperate climate of ancient Athens most amusements took place in the day-time and in the open. Our last glimpse of Athenian life shall be an autumn evening, 416 B.C., in the house of Callias at Piraeus. Callias is one of the richest men in Athens; his trading interests extend over the eastern and western Mediterranean from the Black Sea to the Gulf of the Lion. He has recently built himself a new house in one of Hippodamus' finest boulevards, and he is giving a dinner party there tonight to some of his friends.

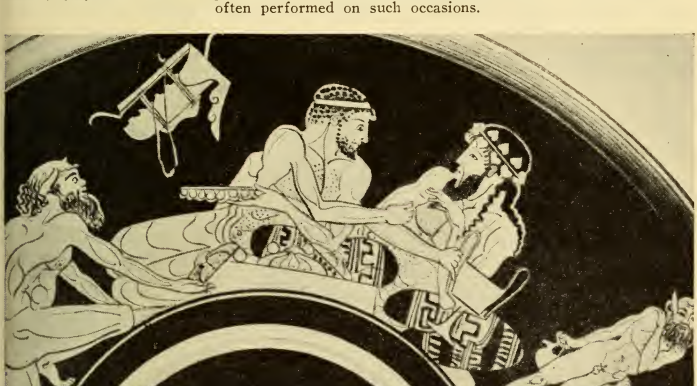
The house is redolent with unusual odors. Callias' wife and children have been sent off to bed, and a hired cook with his staff of helpers has established himself in the kitchen. Over one brazier a large pan of eels is simmering, over another a highly seasoned fricassee of game. The chef is preparing a dish of honey-cakes, and his assistants are busy dressing vegetables in oil and vinegar. Meanwhile, the house slaves are engaged in the dining-room, preparing everything for the meal.

The room itself is plain to the point of bareness, but such furniture as it contains is of exquisite proportions. Eight guests are expected, and accordingly four couches, made of fine wood with colored inlays and silver fittings, have been heaped with cushions. Four small tables with ivory feet, somewhat lower than the couches, are set in readiness near them. Upon a buffet at the side of the room are eight drinking-cups, signed by Duris, and towering above them the huge mixing bowl in which the wine is to be blended.

By this time the master of the house has arrived from the gymnasium with his young boy friend, Lysicles, and the other guests soon follow. Lysanias, the father of Lysicles, is accompanied by the two orators who know best how to catch the ear of the Assembly. Hipponicus, Callias' partner, has insisted on bringing the stonemason Socrates, whose reputation as a talker has already made him invaluable at such gatherings as these. Lastly there is the guest of honor, Nicias, the head of the Imperial-Conservative party at Athens.

When all are in their places on the couches, servants come round with scented water for the hands. Knives and forks there are none, for a meal usually consists of simple cereal dishes or even of bread and cheese. This is a special occasion, but the food is still taken with

Women were represented at Athenian dinner parties only by the professional actresses, dancing girls and flute-players who were engaged to amuse the guests. One such dancing girl is depicted on this cup (left) pirouetting before a young man who is holding her flute. On the vase (right) is a clever representation of one of the acrobats, probably Syracusan, who often performed on such occasions.



Athens adopted from the East the luxurious habit of reclining at meals, the food and wine being served on low tables set before the couches. Dionysus and Heracles are so represented on this red-figured cup having a banquet together, at which two satyrs are acting as servants. One of these uncouth waiters has just filched a cake from the table, and the artist probably found his subject in the so-called satyr-drama a comic performance making fun of divine beings.

THE LIGHT SIDE OF ATHENIAN LIFE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

British Museum and Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'

the fingers, and pieces of soft bread serve as napkins. After the solids have been consumed hands are again washed, the wine is brought forward for the first time, and a libation poured out to the gods. Then the tables are changed and set with dessert, and the symposium begins.

Two flute-girls are in attendance, and to their music Lysicles begins by singing the patriotic ballad of "Harmodius." At its conclusion one of the orators launches into a glowing panegyric of the boy's beauty and modest grace, while Nicias in his turn gives the company some confidential information he has received about the riches of Sicily.

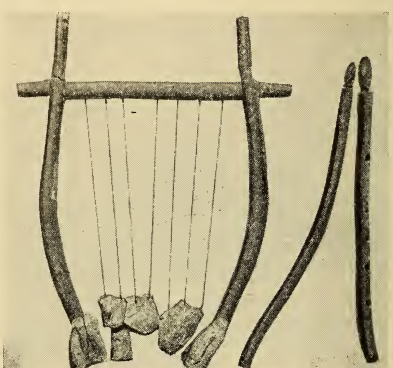
Then Hipponicus challenges Socrates to a game of "kottabos," and as he loses has to pay forfeit by composing an impromptu limerick. Hardly has the laughter at his attempt subsided when Callias claps his hands and some hired entertainers appear, a Syracusan actor with a girl acrobat and a boy musician. The lad performing upon the harp, the girl dances and turns somersaults through a hoop encircled with daggers, and as a finale the three mimic the story of Ares and Aphrodite caught in the toils by the jealous husband.

When the actors have concluded their little play, Socrates introduces a discussion on the subject, "Is wealth necessary to happiness?"

Like most Socratic investigations, this lasts a long time. At the end Socrates convinces his auditors that the philosopher alone is really wealthy and really happy, inasmuch as he alone is really self-sufficient. So the symposium ends.

It may perhaps have been noticed that in an account which purports to describe social conditions at Athens scarcely anything has been said about women or about home life. The reason for the omission is that an Athenian took very little pleasure in or with women, and that home life as we know it scarcely existed. For those few men who liked female society there were the "hetairae," free foreign women, who, relying on their personal attractions, had come to the city.

But a "female friend" was an expensive luxury, and in fifth-century Athens the number and social importance of the hetairae were small. It was in the Hellenistic age that the great courtesans flourished for women then began to play an equal part with men in affairs, and the riches of Asia, flowing into Greek pockets, made every sort of extravagance possible. In fifth-century Athens most women were either wives or slaves, neither kind regarded as fit objects for a man's affections.



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS GREEKS LOVED TO PLAY

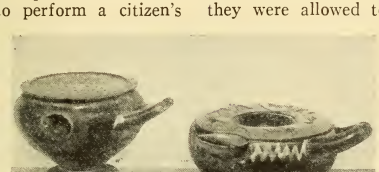
Lyre and flute were the instruments in almost universal use among the Athenians. The flute—usually double—was made of reeds and had a mouthpiece and four or more holes or stops. The lyre had seven strings, stretched from the yoke to the sounding-board. It was played in a sitting posture, the strings being thrummed from outside by the left hand and plucked with a plectrum, which was tied to the lyre, held in the right hand.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' and British Museum

In no respect is the difference between an ancient Greek and a modern Englishman so striking as in their varying conceptions of a man's public and private obligations. The normal Englishman is a kind father, a fairly affectionate husband and a fairly considerate employer; but he can scarcely be called a good citizen. He pays his taxes ungraciously

and with reluctance; he bitterly grudges the few days of jury service that the country occasionally requires of him; as for training himself in peace time so that he may be able to perform a citizen's duty in time of war, he loathes the very idea.

In both regards, in his devotion to his home and in his indifference to the state, he is the exact antithesis of the Greek. An Athenian was an ardent patriot whose time and purse and life were always at his country's disposal. He took a pride in keeping himself fit for active campaigning until he had reached the age of sixty. But he was an indifferent father; he wilfully shut his eyes to the evils of slavery; and in his conjugal relations he was altogether unsatisfactory.



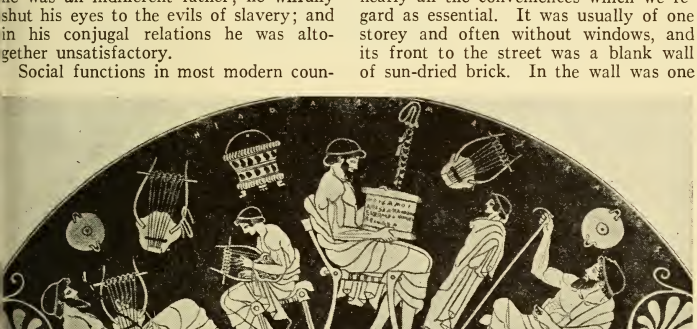
BABIES' BOTTLES OF 500 B.C.

When the babies had to be weaned they were fed on broth, sweetened with honey, until they could digest more solid food. Their bottles, or papboats, were somewhat similar to the feeding-cups used for invalids today.

British Museum

Social functions in most modern countries are arranged by women for women. At Athens all forms of recreation were designed by men for men, and women were no more allowed to share in them than they were allowed to manage property. The husband went out; the wife stayed at home. The husband mixed freely with his male companions; the wife rarely saw any man except her relatives, and lived within four walls, a harem prisoner.

Not that she enjoyed any of those luxuries which are sometimes supposed to alleviate the tedium of harem life. The house where she spent her days lacked nearly all the conveniences which we regard as essential. It was usually of one storey and often without windows, and its front to the street was a blank wall of sun-dried brick. In the wall was one



AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

Music was an important part of the school curriculum in ancient Greece. On this cup in the Berlin Museum a master, momentarily ignoring the plectrum, is depicted showing a pupil how to grasp the chords of the seven-stringed lyre by the left hand. On the right another pupil is reciting a poem, the text of which is written on the scroll in the master's hand. On the wall are hanging two lyres, a flute case, a basket to hold manuscripts and two drinking-cups for the pupils' use.

Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.

door, kept carefully closed, and through it the rare visitors passed into an open court, surrounded by a veranda on to which all the house rooms opened and from which they obtained their light and air.

There was no water supply laid on, no drainage and no sanitary arrangements. The kitchen fire had no chimney, and the smoke was supposed to find an exit through a hole in the roof. In the winter the only alleviation against cold was furnished by small three-legged braziers filled with burning charcoal. The dim flame of an olive-oil lamp gave illumination at night.

It is not surprising that a dwelling of this sort was used by its master chiefly as a dormitory. His wife stayed indoors and kept the house company; his children and their nurse played in the courtyard; the five or six slaves who formed the establishment in a middle-class household went through their daily tasks of spinning and weaving, of fetching water and grinding corn, of buying provisions and preparing food; the husband was normally to be found anywhere except under his own roof.

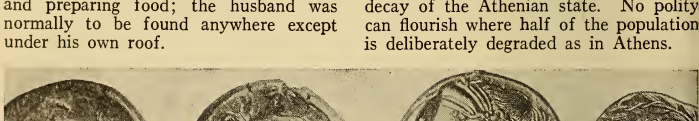
'SLEEP, BABY, SLEEP'

Considerable humor enlivens this terra-cotta figure of an old nurse walking up and down trying to soothe a baby.

British Museum

We must acknowledge that in Athens wives seem to have lacked the charm that is usually the natural gift of their sex. One reason perhaps is that they were married far too young—the average age was about fifteen—and the result of these early marriages was that by the time a wife had arrived at years of discretion and might have been an intellectual companion for her husband; she was often a premature old woman.

For girls no education was considered necessary. They were valued only as potential bearers of legitimate children, and the most extreme precautions known to modern eugenics were apparently practiced before marriage. But even as mothers they were not very efficient; owing to the narrowness of their lives and the poorness of their food, their physique was very inferior, and the wet-nurse was to be found in most families. There can be little doubt that the physical and moral degeneracy of Athenian women was one of the main causes of the steady decay of the Athenian state. No polity can flourish where half of the population is deliberately degraded as in Athens.



GREEK STYLES OF COIFFURE RECORDED ON COINS

Modes of wearing the hair in fashion at Syracuse are depicted in these coins: from left to right, the hair turned up under a bandeau but curling low over the brow (470-460); curls massed on the crown (460-450); and hair held under a fillet on the forehead and confined in a net at the back (413-399 B.C.). The stater of Terina (Bruttium) on the right (425-400 B.C.) shows the back hair folded over a head-band.

From Dr. G. F. Hill 'Select Greek Coins' (G. van Oest, Paris)

THE GENIUS OF GREEK ART

A WONDERFUL EFFLORESCENCE OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE THAT GREW FROM THE IDEALIZATION OF THE HUMAN BODY

PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A.

Emeritus Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford University; Author of 'Principles of Greek Art,' 'New Chapters in Greek Art,' etc.

In this chapter we are concerned with the art of the Hellenic race settled in the great cities of Greece proper at least as early as the ninth century B.C., and in the eighth spreading over the Aegean area from Italy to Asia Minor, with a homogeneous and highly developed civilization. The two main strains of the race were the Ionian, settled in Asia Minor and Thrace, as well as in Attica and Euboea, and the Dorian, of which the headquarters were in the cities of the Peloponnese, Argos, Sicyon, Sparta and the rest. In character the two strains were very different. The Ionian was pleasure-loving and artistic, but had a fatal tendency toward luxury and ease; the Dorian inclined towards discipline and organization. Both contributed largely to the great Greek civilization, which spread over the whole of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, and laid the foundations of all science, philosophy and art in the western world.

A few words must be said as to the origin of Greek art. Some archaeologists are disposed to think that the art of the Minoan age in a measure lived on through the troubled times of the Hellenic conquest, and even speak of the art of early Greece as a renaissance of it. For this view, there is at present very little evidence. Scarcely any lines which continue Minoan influences into Greek history have been traced. But if the primitive population was not exterminated but absorbed, the artistic tendencies shown in the remains of the prehistoric people would live on, often below the surface, and come to light again with fresh opportunities.

The other school of archaeologists, who have much more evidence to adduce, maintain that Minoan art was all but brought to an end at the time of the Hellenic invasions, and that all artistic activity disappeared for centuries, afte. the lapse of which art took a fresh start. The impulse, it is maintained, was given by imported works of the cultured races of the East, the Egyptians, Babylonians and Phoenicians.

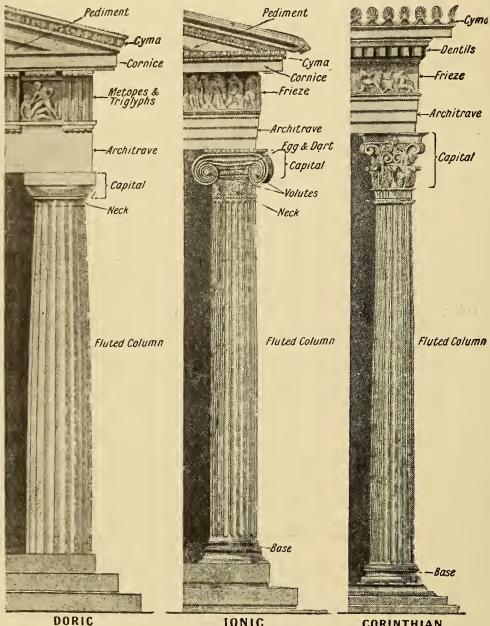
But wheresoever lay the roots of Greek artistic activity, and whencesoever the Greek artists took their earliest models, it is quite clear that, from the sixth century onwards, they worked in an original and national style. As they borrowed the forms of their alphabet from other races, but used them to express their own ideas, so they soon filled the primitive art forms which they adopted with an altogether new and markedly national meaning.

In the development of Greek art two features are most conspicuous, the rise of the temple as the centre of religious art, and the rise of athletic sculpture, one of the most characteristic results of the working of the spirit of humanism. We may consider athletic sculpture as primarily Dorian, since the great early schools of it flourished especially in Argos, Sicyon and Aegina. Temple architecture we may regard as largely Ionian, since the earliest and greatest temples arose in Miletus and other cities of the Ionian coast. But in Greece and South Italy there were also early Dorian temples. The art of painting as well had in early times its greatest vogue in Ionia. But temple building, athletic sculpture, fresco painting and the great art of vase painting all reached their highest development in the fifth century B.C. And in them all Athens took the lead in the great age, though Argos then rivalled it in athletic art, Sicyon in painting and Syracuse in the art of coins and in gem engraving.

It was in the sixth century B.C. that the art of the Ionian Greeks who were settled on the coast of Asia Minor attained its

splendid development. The temples which then arose at Samos, Miletus and Ephesus were on an enormous scale. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for example, covered a space 342 to 163 feet. It was surrounded by a hundred columns, each about fifty-five feet high. The temples of Samos, Miletus and other cities were on the same scale. In the same period temples of smaller size and in a more severe style (Doric instead of Ionic) arose at Delphi, Athens and other sites in Greece proper, and the Greater Greece of South Italy.

Of the origins of the Greek temple we cannot speak. From its development to its decline, it embodies Greek ideas, and is constructed on one principle. The central point, the nucleus of the whole, is the "cella," the abode of the deity, or of his representative, the statue. All the rest is subordinate.



DORIC (Theseum) IONIC (Erechtheum) CORINTHIAN (Monument of Lysicrates)

COLUMNS THAT DETERMINE STYLE

Each of the three 'orders' of Greek temple architecture was distinguished by its peculiar pillars and entablature. The Doric gave simplicity and massive grandeur, the Ionic richness and lightness; these orders were used alternatively before the ornate but degenerate Corinthian captured Roman taste.

After Poland and Reisinger, 'Die antike Kultur'

The plan of a temple familiar to most, the Parthenon, will clearly show this. Here the kernel is the shrine (cella) called Hecatompedos, because of its length of 100 feet; it contained the great statue of the goddess Athene, a masterpiece by Pheidias, a standing figure holding in one hand a Victory, in the other a spear and shield. This statue was the center of Athenian religion, the visible embodiment of the divine ruler of the city. Behind the statue was the chamber, called distinctively the Parthenon, full of the treasures which belonged to the goddess; two porches, front and back, permitted approach. The whole was surrounded by a series of columns, which supported the roof and within which was a walk round the cella itself.

The stateliness of Greek temples was matched by their simplicity. Each part was worked out with a view to a definite purpose. The columns, massive and close together, bore the weight of the roof; the function of the walls was less to support than to divide room from room; the basis was a solid mass of stone resting on the virgin rock, defying time.

In Greek Architecture the keynote, so to speak, is the pillar, which appears in three forms. The Doric pillar is solid and massive, without a base, but having

at the top a swelling to make a transition to the level architrave. The Ionic column is more slender; it has a base, and at the top volutes. The Corinthian column is a variety of the Ionic with acanthus leaves at the top in the place of volutes. All columns are, as a rule, grooved in the perpendicular direction, to carry the eye upwards towards the roof. The three styles are like modes in music, which dominate the composition; and the main principles of construction are so simple that it is possible to reconstruct in drawing any temple of which fragments have been recovered. Yet there is so much variation in the exact proportion of part to part that an expert mathematician alone can deal with them.

All the parts of the building which bore a strain, which had work to do—the columns, the cornices, the walls—were left undecorated in simple majesty; but the gable spaces in front and behind, and the lines of metopes under the roof—peculiar to Doric temples—which had been originally open spaces, were carved in high relief, or even filled with figures in the round.

A great part of the remains of Greek sculpture which have come down to us belonged to the decoration of temples. Such works were not usually the actual handiwork of great sculptors, but of their subordinates and assistants. They were regarded as mere appendages to the magnificent statues, sometimes of ivory and gold, which dominated the interiors of the temples. Nevertheless, to us these less important sculptures seem of extremely great merit. We even regard the figures which decorated the Parthenon as the highest achievement of sculptural art.

Very characteristic is the way in which this sculpture was planned and executed. The subjects were sometimes chosen with reference to the deity whose temple they were to adorn; sometimes they were merely taken from the general stock of Greek legends. In the case of the Parthenon, we may venture to trace something like a continuous history. It must be remembered that the pediments fill the triangular gables, above the columns and under the roof; the metopes alternate with the triglyphs above the columns, under the eaves; the frieze runs along the top of the wall of the cella, within the line of columns. In the eastern pediment the story begins, with the birth of Athene,

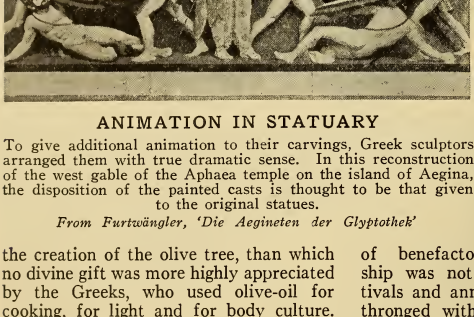
NOBLE FRAGMENTS FROM THE PARTHENON PEDIMENTS

The east pediment of the Parthenon showed the birth of Athene from the head of Zeus, but the central figures are lacking. T' is lovely group, from the right angle, is generally called The Three Fates; but in any case they are evidently just hearing the joyful news—note the crescendo of interest towards the left.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

who represented the divine purpose in the making of Athens. According to the old barbarous legend, which has been imitated by Milton in "Paradise Lost," Athene sprang fully armed from the head of her father Zeus, and at once took her place among the gods.

In the pediment this is only hinted at; Athene stands armed in the Olympian assembly, and the gods look on in wonder. In the western pediment Athene asserts her possession of the city of Athens by the creation of the olive tree, than which no divine gift was more highly appreciated by the Greeks, who used olive-oil for cooking, for light and for body culture. Poseidon, who had also claimed the city, retires discomfited. We may well see in the story a prophecy that though Athens was great on the sea, her chief fame was to arise from wisdom, from art and from arms.



ANIMATION IN STATUARY

To give additional animation to their carvings, Greek sculptors arranged them with true dramatic sense. In this reconstruction of the west gable of the Aphaea temple on the island of Aegina, the disposition of the painted casts is thought to be that given to the original statues.

From Furtwängler, 'Die Aegineten der Glyptothek'

Then in the series of metopes we have a sketch of the growth of civilization, in which Athens played so great a part. Finally, in the frieze we come to the present, to the procession which concluded the Panathenaic games, and escorted the sheep and cows sent by the Athenian colonists to be sacrificed to Athene. The procession also accompanied the victorious athletes who received in front of the Parthenon the wreaths which were the reward of victory. Over the main door of the temple, that which faced the east, there was represented in the frieze a group of the deities of Olympus, seated, to greet the procession and the offerings. All these sculptures can be studied in the British Museum.

A temple of a different kind, representing Dorian rather than Ionian tendencies, was erected by the people of Aegina in honor of their goddess Aphaea at the time of the Persian Wars. This temple has been completely excavated, and the figures which adorned its pediments or gables are preserved at Munich. They represent the battles waged by the noted heroes of Aeginetan race against Troy. The fighting men are rather smaller than life-size, naked, but armed with helmet, spear and shield. They are marvelous on account both of the accuracy of their modeling and of the energy and vigor of their attitudes.

Within, the temples were filled with ex-votos, and with every kind of splendid offering belonging to all periods, with copies of laws and of treaties and with statues of benefactors. Congregational worship was not known but at great festivals and anniversaries the shrines were thronged with those who came to offer prayer, to deposit gifts or to make vows. Processions, hymns and the like belonged rather to the precincts of the temple than to its interior; and animal sacrifices were always, for obvious reasons, performed at great altars outside the building.

We can best appreciate the wealth of temples and the exuberance of Greek religious art by considering one of the great religious sites which have in recent years been excavated. We will take Delphi as an example. The site, noted through the ancient world as the abode of Apollo and place of his oracle and sacred festivals, was excavated by French explorers with the most profitable results.

Of course, only the foundations of buildings survived so many centuries of destruction, but buried amid the ruins were found a number of beautiful statues, the sculptural decorations of the temple of Apollo and the treasure houses, with hundreds of smaller objects in bronze and terra-cotta.

However, it is not mainly in its religious and mythological aspects that we propose here to treat of Greek sculptural art, but with regard to human beauty. Since the idealization of the human body is quite peculiar to Greece, it is to Greece that we owe our perception and appreciation of human beauty in art.

In Greece art and athletics were very closely related; in fact, it was in a great degree from the practice of athletics that Greek sculptural art had its rise. Then, too, the seal of nationality and of the highest religion of Greece was set upon athletic sports when the great games were instituted at Olympia, the seat of Zeus, at Delphi, the seat of Apollo, and at the Isthmus, in the precinct of Poseidon.

Nothing gave so great an impulse to the development of the Greek nationality and Greek civilization as these noble assemblies. The great feature of the festivals was the athletic contests, in which, for thirty days, athletes from every land contended one with another in all athletic sports—running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, discus throwing, spear throwing, races naked and fully-armed, and the torch race.

A very beautiful class of painted Athenian vases is that called "red-figured" because the designs are drawn in outline on the red clay of which the vases are made, and the background painted out with black pigment. They belong to the best period of Greek art (520-440 B.C.) and are wonderful examples of delicacy and accuracy in drawing. There is also a class of large vessels, amphorae or two-handled urns, in which the designs are painted in silhouette in black on the red ground. These latter were given as prizes at Athens in the games called Panathenaea.

BROKEN—BUT STILL ELOQUENT OF BEAUTY

Standing upon a commanding height in the island of Aegina, this great temple, built about 500 B.C. and probably dedicated to the local goddess Aphaea, constituted a very interesting example of Doric architecture. Although its position and the platform of hewn stones upon which it was erected would add to the dignity of the building, its exterior was surpassed in symmetrical beauty by the interior; the shrine, or cella, was of the most noble proportions, and was divided by columns into three aisles.

From 'Picturesque Greece,' T. Fisher Unwin

Many examples of both of these classes of vases are to be found in all our larger museums. They show us the youths of Athens in their gymnasia, bathing and oiling themselves, or competing together in running and boxing and the other sports of the time.

ART'S TRIBUTE TO ATHLETICS

Greek sculptors loved to represent in permanent shape the muscular strength and virile grace of the naked athlete as displayed in gymnasium and stadium. The bronze wrestler seen above is a famous example.

Naples Museum

The perception and admiration of the beauty of the human body arose in relation to young men; the appreciation of the charm of women, or clothing, or animals, was of subsequent growth.

The earliest statues represent young men, naked, with powerful muscles and upright carriage. By degrees they gain in charm and become more life-like. Solidity gives way to muscular strength, rigid pose to elasticity. The outlines become more rounded and graceful. Finally, we come to the magnificent athletic art of the great age.

If we seek to discover the inner impulse which inspired this series of athletic statues, it is not hidden. The admiration of human beauty and the desire to perpetuate a record of it were more deeply seated and more powerful in the Greek mind than they have been anywhere else, even in Renaissance Italy.

However, the impulse could not have taken form had it not been for the customs of the gymnasium. The sculptor did not have, like his modern successor, to select a model, and put him in a pose. He had but to pass his days in watching the baths and the exercises of the young citizens, and he would become thoroughly familiar with the appearance of their bodies in every attitude of action and of strain. Having within him the idea of beauty, the sculptor would find that idea constantly growing in energy and refinement. Thus the art of sculpture, and with it that of painting, was rooted and grounded in the customs of athletic sport.

Manifestly, the modern spirit and the spirit of Greece are in this matter widely apart. When we speak of natural beauty, we are usually thinking of the beautiful scenes of inanimate Nature—the forest and the mountain and the sky. When we speak of the beauty of living things, there come first to our mind the exquisite forms and colors of flowers or of insects, or of the wild creatures of Nature. In thinking of human beauty we lay the stress upon face and hands rather than

upon the beauty of the whole form. But all of this is almost reversed in the mind of the Greek. His notion of human beauty included the head, but was by no means confined to it. When we see a man wholly nude the head, as has often been observed, appears as but a small part of the organism. Beauty in Nature, whether inanimate or animate, was regarded by the Greek as a mere background to humanity.

Hence we may trace an admirable evolution in the art of the fifth century, an evolution most obvious in the figures of athletes and such youthful deities as Apollo and Hermes. We may see how, from decade to decade, the beauty of outline and of pose increases. We may pass from the stiff figures of rigid outline, set squarely on their legs and looking straight at the spectator, to figures like those by Polycleitus and Pheidias, where the weight of the body rests mainly on one leg, and the face is turned somewhat aside, while the severity of the early outline gives place to a perfect symmetry, in the attainment of which manliness and dignity are not sacrificed.

Later, in the fourth century, we see the solid figures becoming slighter; the attitudes represented in statues begin to suggest ease and repose, as in the Satyr and the Hermes of Praxiteles. In the third century, the study of anatomy affects the art of sculpture: the artists know not only the human figure as it appears to the observer, but the exact form of the muscles beneath the skin, and the way in which their tension affects the surface.

Sculptors acquired gradually the ability to render the human body in a truly noble fashion and the stiff and rigid poses of early art gave way to more grace and variety. The head was the last part of the body to be successfully studied, and of the head the mouth, the eyes and the hair were rendered with a good deal of archaic convention to the end of the fifth century.

The beauty of the female form was realized later than that of the male. This was no doubt the result mainly of the customs of the country. Women, especially in Ionia, were somewhat secluded, and no decent woman would use the public baths. So, instead of nudity and oil, clothes were essential in the representation whether of goddesses or mortals. This opened to the sculptor another field —the combination of beautiful forms with beautifully arranged drapery.

There is something very fascinating in the mingled delicacy and simplicity of the customs of many votive figures of women of the sixth century found in the excavations of the Acropolis of Athens. And it is a matter of common knowledge how, in the women of the Parthenon pediments and frieze, the drapery and the underlying forms are blended into a marvellous whole. It was Praxiteles who, in the fourth century, broke through the old tradition, and almost for the first

BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE GYMNASIUM

In their search for subjects suited to their particular genius the Greek artists had frequent resort to the gymnasium, where the male form could be studied to perfection. This vase painting shows a group of youths gathered about the gymnasium's public wash-basin, while another enjoys an impromptu shower-bath. The two on the extreme right are carefully massaging themselves.

From Gerhard, 'Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder'

time exhibited the lovely nude form of the female body as something to be dwelt on and admired for its own sake. His Aphrodite of Cnidus started a wave of beauty worship which swept through Greece, and changed the general taste. And it was succeeded by an endless succession of nude beauties, some of lofty and noble type, like the Aphrodite of Milo (Melos), some merely fleshly like the Medici Aphrodite.

FINE USE OF DRAPERY

The Greeks well knew how to use draperies to produce an effect of grandeur in their works of sculpture. This archaic image of a woman by Antenor (sixth century B.C.) has a godlike dignity that is largely due to her elaborate vestments.

Acropolis Museum, Athens; photo, Alinari

It was the constant play and interaction of naturalism and idealism that directed the evolution of Greek art. Through the individual the artist was ever trying to reach the type, the idea of the Creative Spirit, of which all visible forms were but the imperfect and temporary reflections.

It is in portraiture that the clashing of the individual and the type is most clearly seen. In the great art of Egypt, except during outstanding periods, the individual is almost lost in the type, which varies but little in the representation of kings or deities. The great art of Greece was infinitely more varied and progressive. The portrait sculptors fully intended to copy both the body and the head of the persons whom they portrayed.

The art of the fifth century, being intensely idealist, could not help looking beyond the individual to be portrayed to that which was beneath the individual—the type. In the language of Plato, the sculptor might be said to copy not the individual, but the idea according to which the individual was made.

That Greek artist in the fifth century really, though perhaps not consciously, worked on these lines is clear if we carefully consider the most authentic portrait of the age which has come down to us, that of the great Pericles. It is true that we have not the original, but we have copies of the Roman Age. A modern critic would be ready to say, "It is not a portrait at all, it has nothing individual in it," and this would be in effect true. There is doubtless in it something of the man Pericles, but how much we cannot possibly determine. What strikes us, however, is that it has in it so much of the time, so much of the race, that it would hardly be incongruous as representing the typical Athenian father or the typical Athenian statesman.

Something of this idealism, of this search for the type behind the individual, belongs to great portraits of all ages. Only a materialist would be content slavishly to render the exact form. But with the greater individualism and want of reverence of modern times, the ideal

in portraiture has receded before the characteristic.

It is a proof of the marvellous vitality and flexibility of Greek art that in the later (Hellenistic) age we have sculptured portraits which are in the highest degree characteristic. The portraits of the later philosophers, such as Zeno and Poseidonius, are wonderful on account of the character expressed in them and their realism, and these two qualities actually help us in the study of the writings of those philosophers. A modern critic might say that the busts exactly reproduce the men themselves; but this again would be an exaggeration, for those closely acquainted with Greek art are aware that the typical and idealist tendency is never wanting in it.

Keen and incessant pursuit of the ideal, the humanism which beholds every feature of Nature in the light of human character and purpose, is the main guiding light of art in the great age. It dominates the writing and the acting of dramas, the building of temples, their adornment with sculpture, the figures of the gods, the representation of scenes from either mythology or history. In Greek art the gods and goddesses are supermen and superwomen: Zeus, the divine father, more majestic and benevolent than any human father; Hermes the athlete, more active and supple than any mere runner; Hera the divine matron; Aphrodite the embodiment of beauty such as a man may dream of but will of a surety never find incarnate.

Other features which are universal in Greek art are rhythm and balance and

DRAPED DIGNITY IN THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

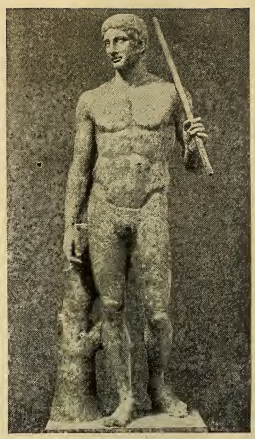
Before the fourth century B.C. the Greeks considered it indecent to represent women without clothes. In their treatment of drapery, however, they showed themselves masters of their art as clearly as when they carved or limned the torso of an athlete. The disposal of long folds and the indication of the figure that they hid offered every opportunity for the sculptor to prove his genius. Perfect harmony between the lines of the body and the garments gave to studies of draped women the dignified beauty seen in this portion of the Parthenon frieze.

The Louvre; photo, 'Archives photographiques,' Paris

HANDIWORK OF GREEK CRAFTSMAN

One of the very few original Greek bronzes extant, the Charioteer, discovered at Delphi.

Delphi Museum



MALE PERFECTION AFTER THE GREEK PATTERN

Polycleitus, of the Argive school (fifth century B.C.), embodied his canon of male perfection in a bronze statue called the Doryphorus or Spear Bearer.

Vatican Museum, Rome; photo, Anderson

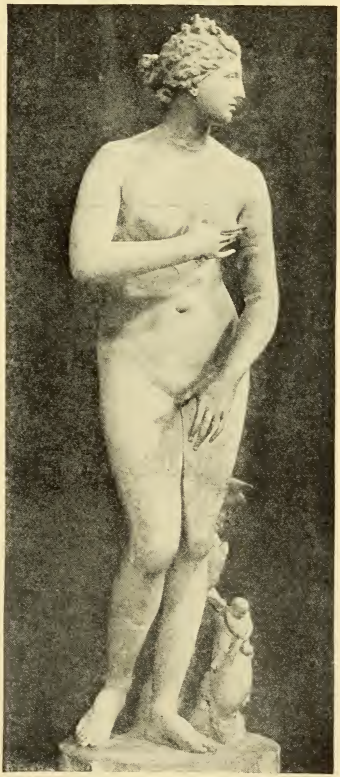
NOBLE SURVIVAL OF GREEK STATUARY

An original work by the fourth-century Praxiteles. Executed in Parian marble it shows Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus.

Olympia Museum

measure. Every sculptured hero or athlete is carefully placed so as to show a balance in attitude, and the figures in a relief or a painting are so arranged, with respect one to the other, as to show a sort of pattern. No figure could be taken away or moved without spoiling the composition as a whole. It is evident that if external symmetry were carried so far as to be mechanical and monotonous the result would be wanting in life and character. But this does not happen in reliefs of an early period, because the order and balance are not mechanically determined, but are the inspired composition of the artist.

We are familiar with the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, but few know much

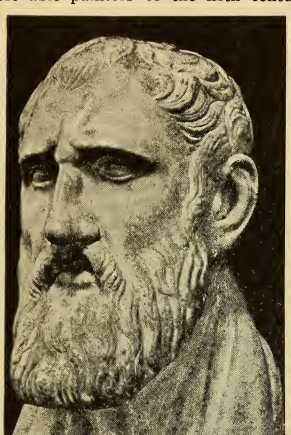


IDEALISM AND NATURALISM IN THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN

When Greek sculptors turned to the representation of women in the nude a long series of very beautiful studies was produced. Two tendencies are discernible in them: a striving to give artistic expression to imaginative idealism and the desire merely to present female loveliness. The Aphrodite of Melos (second century B.C.), for example, shown on the left, is the result of an endeavor to endow a woman's body with ideal qualities, while in the so-called Medici Venus (right) we have the glorification of carnal beauty.

The Louvre, and Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photos, Alinari

about Greek painting. Yet in Greece the painters were quite as celebrated as the sculptors. A great feature in buildings such as town halls and porticoes was the fresco paintings which adorned their walls, and were often the work of the most able painters of the fifth century.



TRIUMPH OF PORTRAITURE

The sculptors of Greece did not develop their genius in portraiture until fairly late. This bust of the Stoic philosopher Zeno (circa 340-264 B.C.), however, admirably demonstrates their subtlety in the interpretation of character.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson

But, alas! all the great frescoes of Greece have disappeared.

We are obliged to derive our notions of Greek painting from the painted vases and from sculptured reliefs—for these are half-way between sculpture in the round and painting. Not only were reliefs usually colored, but in composition also they closely resembled paintings. Greek painting was undoubtedly very simple in character; perspective was rendered in an almost childish way; atmospheric effects and landscapes as backgrounds were not attempted.

Greek painted vases are a very fascinating object of study; and as their subjects are more complicated and extensive than those of sculpture, they throw even more light than the latter on Greek mythology and daily life. Greek vases may be roughly divided into two classes, the black-figured and the red-figured. In the black-figured class—wares made in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.—the figures were drawn in black silhouette on the natural red or buff ground of the vase. Touches of white and red were added to vary the effect, and the anatomical and other markings on the figures were made by lines incised in the clay with a sharp instrument. In the red-figured class, which came in towards the end of the sixth century, the outlines were drawn, and the whole background painted in black. The figures, therefore, stood out in red against black, and any further markings were made with a fine brush full of black or dark paint.

Within the round, square or oblong framework which was prepared for the design, the painter depicted some familiar tale of mythology, or some battle-group, or some agonistic event. There is immense variety in the representations which have come down to us of any event in epic or tragic tradition or in folklore or the traditions of particular sacred places; but the variety is bounded by definite limits. The forms of the gods on vases vary in details; the normal types are preserved. The forms of athletes are simple and typical. Portraits or any immediate renderings of Nature do not occur. Occasionally the artist seems to have had in his mind a line of Homer or Hesiod, or, in later times, a scene from Aeschylus or Euripides; but he is more concerned with beauty of grouping and delicacy of detail than the exact meaning of the group.

We must add a few words on the subject of composition and grouping. Every figure is drawn in relation to every other, and none could be altered without injury to the design. Commonly the two halves of the design are symmetrically grouped on either side of an imaginary vertical line which divides it in the middle. Every Greek drawing is an ordered whole, a cosmos and not a chaos.

Finally, it may be mentioned that Greek coins are amongst the most exquisite objects of our artistic heritage.

GREEK LITERATURE AND THE THEATER

INCOMPARABLE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HELLENIC GENIUS IN THE REALMS OF POETRY, PROSE AND THE DRAMA

GILBERT NORWOOD, M.A., Hon. D.Litt.

Professor of Classics, University College, Toronto; Author of 'The Writers of Greece,' 'Greek Comedy,' etc.

THE literature of Greece comprised an immense volume of work in almost every field, and extended over some twenty-five centuries; but a study of it will necessarily consider far less than the whole, partly because great masses have long ago perished, partly because most of the literature composed after the death of Alexander the Great possesses so much less both of literary excellence and of the Greek spirit.

We may define that spirit as a tingling consciousness of fact—spiritual, emotional, intellectual, physical—and, in art, the instinct to express such fact in brilliantly concrete form. In philosophic poets like Shelley and Wordsworth even the persons became etherealized into something only half-human, akin to the clouds and winds. Throughout Greek literature, however, the opposite tendency, the personification of inanimate objects and natural forces, is unmistakable.

Not only, indeed, did the Greeks instinctively evolve the drama and carry it to heights never surpassed; in other branches the dramatic instinct—the instinct to portray life and its events by the confrontation of conflicting personalities—is from the first a leading element. Homer is full of brilliant scenes where one splendid figure faces another in a tense situation of conflict, suspicion, hope, dread or comradeship. Even the scientific historian Thucydides is so influenced by contemporary tragedy that his immortal story of the Sicilian Expedition is conceived as a vast drama. Even Plato, the profound philosopher, throws his writings into dialogue form.

Included in the Homeric poems are two epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey. Immense discussion has been devoted to the history of the epics. Was there such a person as Homer? Did one person write both poems? Where was each written, and when? Was either composed in the form that we now know? If not, did some bard make a great poem which was later expanded here and there, or did he combine earlier and shorter lays into a continuous whole?

On none of these questions is there complete agreement, but it is generally held that the Iliad is in the main the work of a single great poet, and so is the Odyssey, though each may have been composed by a different man; also, that they were composed in Ionia (Western Asia Minor) and, very roughly indeed, about a thousand years before Christ—composed, not written, for it is highly uncertain whether writing was used so early in that region.

Both epics deal with the cycle of stories centering round Troy, a city close to the Dardanelles. Priam, king of Troy, had many sons, conspicuous among them being the valiant Hector and the handsome Paris. Paris came to Greece as the guest of Menelaus, the Spartan king, whose wife, Helen, he stole away to Troy. Menelaus and his brother Agamemnon raised a great host, which, after a ten years' siege, captured Troy by the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, destroyed the town and took Helen home. The Iliad recounts some of the fighting in the tenth year, and culminates in the slaying of Hector by Achilles. The Odyssey is the story of Odysseus, or Ulysses,—his ten years' wandering and adventures up and down the Mediterranean, his return to his native Ithaca utterly indigent and un-

known, his final triumph and slaughter of the native princes who have been wooing his wife Penelope.

Down the ages Homer has been acclaimed one of the world's greatest writers and its noblest epic poet. Perhaps his most striking quality is the unfailing combination of greatness with versatility. On any subject, however terrible, charming or trivial, he writes with exquisite appropriateness, superb mastery, simple directness. When he tells of a banquet or laundry-work, we never feel that he "unbends," nor is there any sense of strain even in his most terrific scenes of battle, shipwreck or the adventures of Odysseus in the world of Death.

HECTOR ARMING FOR THE BATTLE

Eldest son of Priam and Hecuba, here shown helping him don his armor, Hector was the chief hero of the Trojans. Homer presents him as a very perfect, gentle knight, and his description of Hector's parting from Andromache is a gem of literature.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'

Another leading Homeric quality is the elasticity and speed of his diction and metre. Our prose (and some of our verse) translations are intolerably slow and cumbrous. The poetical versions, even if elastic and rapid, are too slight: they rattle. Pope, for instance, is mere pretentious chatter compared with his original.

Homer's method of handling and disposing his material is the perfection and exemplar of the "epic manner": he selects some tale of adventure and tells it on a grand scale by means of a few impressive, simply-drawn and well distinguished figures with comparatively little background of minor persons or events—his work corresponds to that of Michelangelo in painting as contrasted with that of Turner.

This simplicity has another side. Homer is the least profound, the most unreflective, of great poets: that is the only sign of earliness in his work. Moving with such superb power over the brilliant and engrossing surface of things, he penetrates little and rarely below the surface. It is true that he is conscious again and again of the pathos of human affairs, as in Andromache's farewell to her husband, Hector, and the speech of Achilles' ghost concerning death. But it is the expression of such thoughts that is magnificent: the ideas themselves are commonplace. The Greek was certainly able to feel and had begun to think, but he could not think constructively or venturously, nor had he developed that introspection which must exist if great drama or great novels are to appear.

From the five centuries which passed between Homer and the great period of Athens only a few works survive. That period saw the culmination of lyric poetry and of other types such as the elegiac, the gnomic or sententious, and the satirical.

Solon, the great Athenian statesman, discussed his reforms in verse which has partly survived. Theognis of Megara, also a political poet, is a vigorous witness to the feelings of the oligarchs confronted by the growing power and class-consciousness of the "lower orders." Archilochus, the satirist is represented now by a handful of blazing splinters. Sappho survives in two brief poems of love and a collection of fragments which reveal her as the peerless artist in passionate simplicity.

Unfortunately, there is no writer of

lyrical poetry, save Pindar, who is known to us except in pathetic, tantalizing scraps. Ibycus of Rhegium in Italy still shows something of Italian warmth. Alcman and Anacreon reveal a personal joy in loveliness which is not found again till Theocritus. Here, too, may be mentioned the few popular songs which have survived: the "Harmodius," sung at Athens as a national anthem, which celebrated the murder of the "tyrant" Hipparchus, and the "Swallow Song" of Rhodes, chanted by the children in spring.

However, there are three writers whose work has survived in some bulk. Hesiod, perhaps three generations later than Homer, is the reputed author of three poems. The "Theogony" is a kind of manual giving the family tree of Greek deities. The "Works and Days" forms a handbook of farming and a sailor's guide, containing instruction as to details of the work, tools and dates; but mingled therewith are scraps of shrewd traditional advice and longer disquisitions upon the lot of humanity. Thus we read here the famous story of Pandora's jar, and that account of the Four Ages of the world, gold, silver, bronze and iron, which so powerfully moved the imagination of posterity.

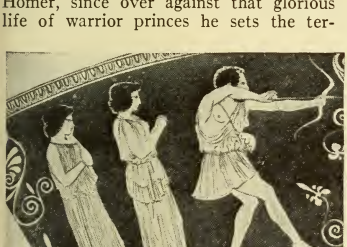
Though vastly inferior as a poet, Hesiod is an invaluable pendant to Homer, since over against that glorious life of warrior princes he sets the terribly hard, grinding and monotonous life of the peasant in the territories of central Greece.

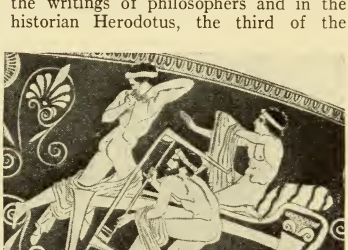
Entirely different from Hesiod is Pindar, the last of the great purely lyric poets. Of his work we possess the four books of Epinician Odes, that is, odes written to celebrate victories in the four greatest athletic contests—at Olympia, Pytho (Delphi), Nemea and the Isthmus of Corinth. He was in demand also for funeral odes, paeans and many other kinds of public poem.

Like Homer, Pindar wrote for the great ones of his day, such as the tyrant of Syracuse, Hiero, whose victory in the chariot race at Olympia occasioned that fine "First Olympian" which opens our collection of his work. The Dorian nobles of older Greece, the princes of the new Greece in Sicily—these are his usual patrons, and he expresses himself with glorious vigor and no misgivings upon what they and he believed the best things in life—stern effort and magnificent achievement in war and athletics.

Pindar is the laureate of all that is inspiring and splendid in music and color. Like Homer, again, he is somewhat unreflective. But he is more deeply and more frequently impressed by the pathos and sorrows of humanity. But the age of reason had not yet appeared in poetry.

It had, however, appeared in prose, in the writings of philosophers and in the historian Herodotus, the third of the



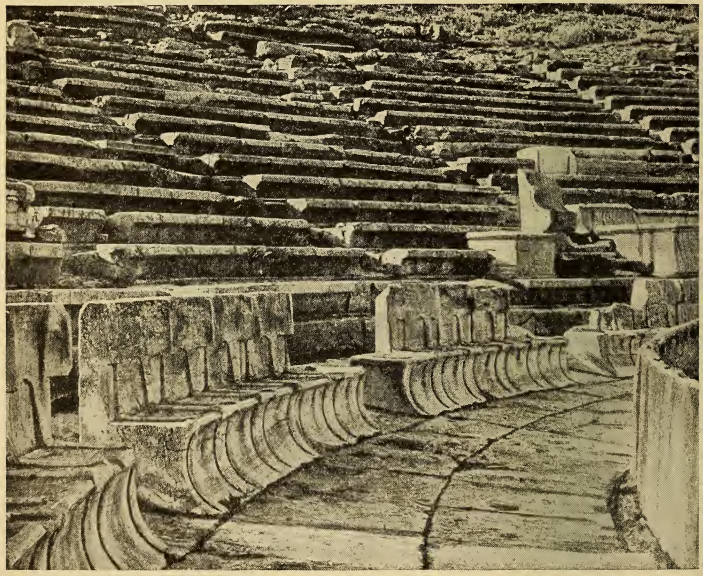


ODYSSEUS TAKING VENGEANCE ON PENELOPE'S SUITORS

Of the twenty-four books of the Odyssey the first four are introductory, describing the state of affairs in the homeland due to the absence of Odysseus. The next eight deal with his return from the island of Calypso to the land of the Phaeacians, and include his narrative of his adventures; the last twelve are concerned with his arrival in Ithaca, his contest with and slaughter of the suitors and his final recognition by Penelope.

Berlin Museum; from Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei'

It is highly probable that there was no stage, properly so called, in the classical Greek theater; but a raised platform, or 'logeion,' for the actors as distinct from the chorus, was almost always added in later Greek times. Here is the theater of Dionysus at Athens, its front wall adorned with bas-reliefs depicting scenes in the life of the god, a crouching Silenus supporting the platform in the center.



In Greece the slope of a hill was always chosen for the auditorium of a theater and was furnished with stone seats set in rising tiers and divided by gangways into wedge-shaped blocks. The best seats were nearest the orchestra, in the lowest row, and at Athens comprised marble thrones specifically assigned to various ecclesiastical and civil officials. The chairs or rectangular seats seen here above the official thrones are not the original seats but remains of the later Roman period.

STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS

From 'Picturesque Greece,' T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd.

pre-Athenian writers mentioned above. (He is contemporary with the great Athenian age, but has affinities with the earlier, and wrote an earlier Greek.) It was long the custom to regard "the father of history" as a delightful, garrulous, rather weak-headed old man telling wonderful stories, but this is misleading. Herodotus offers a fascinating blend of the Homeric bard who told a splendid story for its own sake, and the scientist who loves facts, their explanation and coordination, and the exposition of his learning to others. He stands half-way between Homer and Gibbon: he has the early poet's love for narrative, and his history was written for public recitation. On the other hand, he grasps the duties of a sound historian quite as clearly as his successors. He does not always carry them out as we should wish, but that is natural; a theological explanation will satisfy him where today we might demand a reply in terms of economics.

Another legacy from Homer is the dramatic touch. Events are made to swing upon great personalities—the Persian Wars are very much a personal adventure of Xerxes, Themistocles and Pausanias; and set speeches are a favorite device.

Perhaps the world's greatest historian, Thucydides, who in his eight books has related most of the Peloponnesian War, is a magnificent example of the Athenian spirit; he is representative of that age of rationalism when scientific thinking was deliberately and vigorously applied to all affairs, including conduct. Greeks of the central period worshipped three divinities: Beauty, Truth and the State. Herodotus and Pindar put Beauty first; Plato put the State first; Thucydides put Truth first.

He gives us a narrative magnificent but austere. Men's motives are laid bare, but without pedantry or preaching; political tendencies and other gradual movements are charged with profound interest, not by irrelevant cleverness but by the union of sagacity and the assumption that his reader wishes to learn; so that on this side Thucydides resembles Defoe. More obviously exciting events are related with a flawless sense of significant detail, as in the brilliant story of Brasidas' attack on Pylos and the immortal "Retreat from Syracuse."

There can be little doubt that the influence of contemporary playwrights induced Thucydides to view his material as drama. In the "Sicilian Expedition" the chief actor is not a person, but Athens herself. As a prologue, Thucydides skilfully dilates upon the cynical brutality with which Athens destroyed the little island-state of Melos. Then he depicts the great armament setting out from the Piraeus to the conquest of the western Mediterranean. At first Athens succeeds gradually but steadily, till the Syracusans are in despair. But in the nick of time the Spartan Gylippus enters the beleaguered town with reinforcements, from which moment the star of Athens begins to set, till the whole great army and navy are annihilated with utter ignominy. Without falsifying any details, Thucydides has marshalled them in the manner of a playwright.

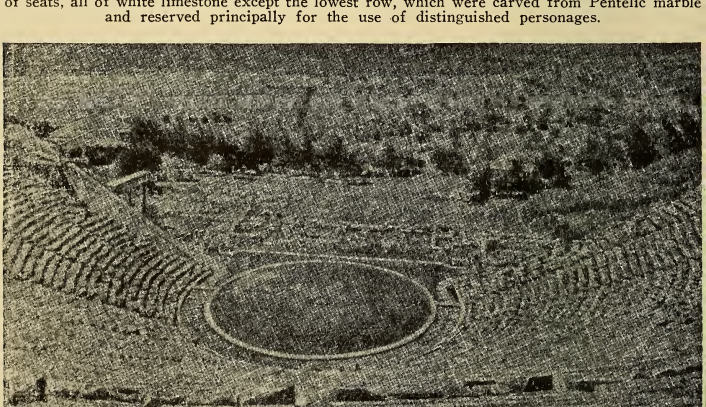
Xenophon has continued the narrative of Thucydides in his "Hellenica"; but his most famous work is the "Anabasis," which describes that romantic Retreat of the Ten Thousand, the army of Greek mercenaries who, stranded in the middle of the Persian Empire, contrived to baffle the whole power of the Great King and made their way home through terrible mountains and savage tribes. Xenophon composed a good number of other books, philosophical (especially his celebrated "Memorabilia," or Memoirs of Socrates), biographical ("Agesilaus,") and technical ("On Horsemanship," for example). The best history in Greek is that of Polybius, who has left us an invaluable account of the Punic Wars. Josephus composed "The Jewish War" at the suggestion of the Emperor Titus.

It is now time to return to the great contemporaries of Thucydides, to those tragedians who, as we have seen, helped to shape his superb history.

Before the host of Darius landed at Marathon, Athens was a town of no special eminence. When, a dozen years later, the last European fortress of the Great King was captured at Sestus, she was a world power, the brilliant and glorious champion of Greece. And she was a democracy. During those years of amazing expansion—in politics, in commerce, in the things of soul and intellect

THEATER OF DIONYSUS: CENTER OF DRAMATIC ART OF GREECE

The theater of Dionysus stood to the south-east of the Acropolis of Athens and actually within the temple precincts. This stone building, which superseded the earlier wooden structures, was completed about 340 B.C., although the permanent proscenium, of which the ruins are seen on the left, was not added until later. The thymele, or altar of Dionysus, stood in the middle of the semicircular orchestra, and behind this in concentric rings rose the tiers of seats, all of white limestone except the lowest row, which were carved from Pentelic marble and reserved principally for the use of distinguished personages.



BEST PRESERVED THEATER OF CLASSICAL GREECE

Pausanias declared that the theater of Epidaurus, designed by Polycleitus, was 'extremely well worth seeing,' and its ruins today justify the eulogy. Almost every seat is in position, the symmetry of the auditorium being broken only at the wings. The theater had accommodation for at least 16,000 people, and the acoustic arrangements were so admirable that a person speaking in an ordinary tone from the stage can still be heard perfectly in all parts of the auditorium.

Photo, Messbildanstalt

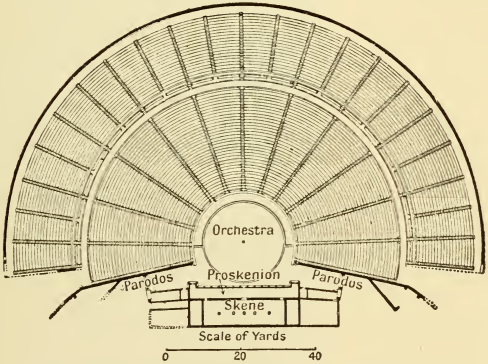
—there came to flower a consummate form of literature. Just as the spirit engendered in England by the defeat of the Armada exalted the Elizabethan drama, so did the overthrow of Persia create the triumphs of Athenian tragedy and comedy.

The origins of Greek drama present questions as to the importance of which opinion may well differ. The traditional explanation is that it was evolved as an act of worship, a ritual performance in honor of Dionysus, the god of wild animal and vegetable life, especially of the vine.

A chorus sang and danced a lyrical poem, at the opening of spring, round the altar of sacrifice. In time these lyrical performances were broken at intervals by one of the singers, who mounted upon the sacrificial table and recited some episode of Dionysus' earthly life. Later he would himself impersonate some character in his story, by means of a mask and costume.

Then, by entering a booth and changing his attire he would present some other person in the tale, this change of personality giving the possibility of something like drama, one character seeking but never meeting another. As this single player provides the germ of "The Oedipus Tyrannus" and "The Frogs," so does the booth foreshadow the theater. It was a tent used as a dressing-room, and the Greek for a tent is *skene* (whence our "scene").

So far we are only upon the threshold of drama. The first playwright, whether Thespis or Arion, composed a kind of simple oratorio with set speeches at intervals. These elements no doubt developed in excellence and complexity, and the booth in time became an integral part of the play—it was described as the tent of Lycurgus, let us say, the enemy of Dionysus. These performances advanced steadily in popular favor. On the south-east slope of the Acropolis a great theater was made; the people occupied benches ranged about the slope, while on the level dancing-floor ("orchestra") before them the choristers performed in front of the skene, which became a permanent building with scenery to suit the individual play. A prize was given to the best of three competing poets, each of whom produced four plays: a collection of three tragedies (at first, but not later, a sequence) and a satyric drama. The last was half tragic, half comic; the chorus was always formed by satyrs, the ridiculous half-animal followers of Dionysus, but the other characters were dignified—for example, Apollo, in "The Trackers" (or "Detectives") of Sophocles.



PLAN OF THE THEATRE OF EPIDAURUS

The theater of Epidaurus is singular in preserving the original circular form of the orchestra. The auditorium is rather more than a semicircle and is planned to give the spectators in the wings a clear view of the stage. The stage ('proskenion') and stage buildings ('skene') were added in later times.

The earliest among the great tragic playwrights was Phrynichus, who is said to have won the prize first about 510 B.C.

Aeschylus introduced a second actor, and by so doing became the first true dramatist of Europe. It should be remembered that the use of masks enabled two actors to provide a much larger number of persons. The chief actor was called the protagonist.

Aeschylus composed something like a hundred plays, of which, in addition to many fragments, we possess seven.

Composed about 490 B.C., "The Suppliant Women" has as chorus the fifty daughters of Danaus who seek refuge in Argos from their fifty cousins who pursue them from Egypt for marriage. The Argive king and Danaus induce the Argives to protect the suppliants. An Egyptian herald, finding the women alone, is about to drag them away to his masters, when the king returns and rebuffs him, braving the threat of war. This play is markedly archaic; the action is slight, the dialogue is stiff, and the lyrics, though rich in their theology and language, lack flexibility and grace.

In the drama entitled "The Persians" (about 470 B.C.) he depicted the overthrow of Xerxes' fleet at Salamis; the battle is related in magnificent narratives by a messenger, commented upon by the choral odes and by the lamentations and prophecies of the ghost of King Darius. This is the only surviving Greek historical play, and forms an important document: Aeschylus fought at Salamis, as at Marathon. We observe a great advance upon the preceding tragedy. Not only do the episodes show far more naturalness and force than those of "The Suppliant Women"; there is a notable improvement of construction.

A MASTER OF TRAGEDY

Sophocles (c. 495-406 B.C.) won the first prize for tragedy in 468 B.C., Aeschylus being placed second, and thereafter was chief favorite on the Athenian stage, winning the first prize no less than twenty times.

Lateran Museum; photo, Anderson

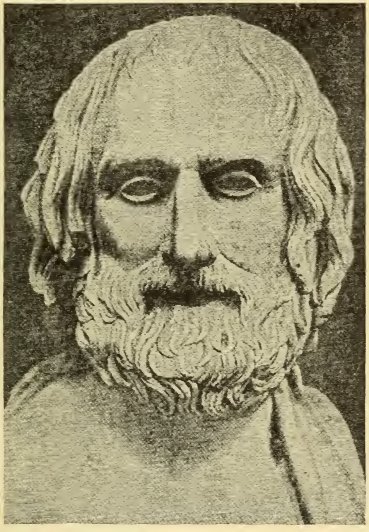
In "The Seven Against Thebes" (467 B.C.) we are shown the attack upon Thebes in central Greece by the Seven Champions and their repulse by King Eteocles. This is rather a splendid pageant than a play.

Perhaps not the greatest of the plays of Aeschylus, "Prometheus Bound" is his noblest conception. Zeus, king of the gods, having decided to destroy Mankind, Prometheus the Titan revolts, and saves men by bringing down to them from Heaven the fire by which they learn crafts and civilization, thus lifting themselves from misery. For this (and here the play opens) he is nailed by the servants of Zeus upon the Caucasus and for long ages is to suffer beneath the beak of an eagle. He endures all with noble dignity and courage, reciting to the chorus of sea nymphs the story of Man's salvation, comforting the distracted Princess Io by his prophecies, and telling of his own deliverer (her descendant) who shall dethrone Zeus.

The last three plays form a trilogy of the murder of Agamemnon, the vengeance taken by his son Orestes and the justification of Orestes for his matricide. Of these the first, "The Agamemnon," depicts the return of that king from the sack of Troy, the plot against him by his queen Clytaemnestra and her lover Aegisthus, the uneasiness and grief of the infirm elders who suspect the plot, the agonized prophetic outbreaks of the Trojan Cassandra who foresees the king's murder and her own, the slaughter, the insolent triumph of the conspirators. This play is generally considered the greatest tragedy in Greek. The "Libation-Bearers" ("Choephori") is named from the maidens who bring offerings to Agamemnon's tomb, and shows the return of Orestes from exile, his slaying of his mother Clytaemnestra, and the horror which envelops his soul as the avenging Furies begin their assault. In "The Eumenides" ("Kindly Ones," a

euphemistic name for the Furies) we find Orestes pursued over the earth by these avengers, but comforted by the god Apollo, whose oracle commanded the matricide. At Athens the case is tried by the court of Areopagus presided over by the goddess Athena, and Orestes is acquitted.

Aeschylus' greatness consists, above all, in two qualities, immense spiritual force and immense dramatic power. Of all Greeks he had the deepest sense of religion. His profound passionate consciousness, not of gods merely, but of God, his burning realization of sin, of moral damnation, his instinct to look at the Universe as the soul's battle-ground, make him unique among his countrymen. In "The Suppliant Women" he conveys an overwhelming impression of God as the only being who really exists. In "The Persians," not a single Greek who joined in the national defense is named, but "God," "Zeus," recur incessantly. As for "Prometheus," its theological and moral splendour are even today almost a proverb.



ANCIENT YET VERY MODERN

Euripides (480-407 B.C.) wrote more than ninety plays. A master of the tender and the pathetic, he has been the favorite dramatist of many of the world's greatest poets and has retained wide popularity throughout the ages.

Naples Museum; photo, Brogi

In the whole trilogy of which this is the extant part, it appears that Zeus, who began as a youthful tyrant, gradually learned wisdom and pity from his great foe, thus at length taking over his position as the friend of humanity. This amazingly bold idea, that God Himself only by degrees attains perfection, lies at the base of our sole remaining trilogy. The Furies are right in their condemnation of Orestes, though the matricide was commanded by Zeus through Apollo; yet Zeus is right, because Clytaemnestra's murder of her husband and king must be punished. The solution is not merely the pacification of the Furies; it is a reform of the moral government of the world under Zeus.

Concerning the other feature, Aeschylus' dramatic instinct. Great tragedy consists in the confrontation of persons, important and impressive in themselves, who are also the vehicles of ideas or questions or interests permanently momentous to human beings. Without the first we have grandiose, misty composition; without the second we have "theatricality." In all great work we find the individual and the general interest both very marked. But as a rule one overpowers the other. In Aeschylus' matured work the two are exactly equal.

Sophocles, second of the Three Masters, is often proclaimed as supreme among ancient dramatists. He is not so profound or so instinctively religious as Aeschylus.

If it may be so phrased without offence, Sophocles had as much depth and religion as were compatible with enduring popularity. He is by far the best instance in literature of a truly noble writer possessing all the desirable qualities, each in the highest degree that is

possible if the others are not to be hampered. Sophocles is as full of pathos as is compatible with the handsome mellowness of his general effect. He commands superb language just near enough to ordinary speech never to be thought affected. He ponders the mysteries of the Universe deeply enough to shake the heart without agonizing it.

The three main features of Sophocles are this balance of qualities, a magnificent diction and a superb sense of the theater.

Without an intimate knowledge of Greek his diction cannot be appreciated, but his skill as "a man of the theater" is clearly recognizable as greater than that of any other ancient of whom we have knowledge.

By "sense of the theater" is meant an instinct for effects which, though they may possess no particular, or only a moderate, power in the reading, are yet thrilling to the eye and emotions of a prepared spectator; the theatrical expert is a playwright who uses his audience for his effects as definitely as he uses his scenery. At the close of "The Electra" (a play on the same subject as "The Choephori" of Aeschylus) we find a passage of theatricality. Orestes has slain Clytaemnestra within, and Aegisthus arrives thinking that Orestes has been killed. He orders the body to be brought forth and on uncovering it discovers his error and his own doom. This scene is composed magnificently, but it is not demanded by the previous and subsequent events: it is direct thrill and the nearest example to pure sensationalism in Sophocles.

In the same tragedy, however, we find a magnificent feat of this theatrical sense. A stranger brings to Electra a funeral urn which he says contains the ashes of her brother Orestes. She utters over it a moving lament, while we, the audience, know that the stranger is Orestes himself. But he has been forced to this deception since he is in the presence of enemies; in fact, he does not know her for his sister till her speech of sorrow reveals her.

Sophocles would seem to have invented intrigue, that is, plot devised by the personages themselves, as in Hamlet's device of the play which he stages, the tricks of Iago and a thousand such incidents. It is true that Aeschylus in "The Choephori" has a chorus who induce the Nurse to falsify a message, so as to help their friends; but it may be that he is influenced by Sophocles, then nearly forty years old. In any case the younger poet is far more of a master in this respect. "The Philoctetes" is the most elaborate instance; in it Odysseus contrives, in masterly fashion, to bring Philoctetes into his power by playing upon the very fear of him which the other feels.

Unsurpassed skill is shown by Sophocles in the more normal excellences of tragic art. Throughout, he causes events to arise from character above all, leaving to chance but a narrow slice of territory. In this excellence "The Oedipus Tyrannus" is the greatest of Greek plays. Oedipus moves steadily forward to disaster because of his own nature, virtues and faults alike: his noble will-power, his courage, his quick temper are all visibly essential to the revelation which overwhelms him. In "The Antigone," if Creon and the princess had not been what they were, Antigone and the others would not have died.

Between Sophocles' handling of character and that of Euripides, the third of the Three Masters, there is an illuminating contrast. In the earlier poet the conflict of ideas comes from the conflict of two simply conceived persons—Antigone and Creon, Philoctetes and Neoptolemus, Deianira and Heracles; in the later, increasing subtlety of psychology tends to show the conflict as raging in the bosom of one person, Medea or Phaedra.

Later antiquity prized him highly: we have nineteen plays attributed to him, against seven of Aeschylus and eight of Sophocles. His great qualities are a passionate sense of beauty in strange places, extraordinary cleverness, an intense questing alertness of mind.

His method is ostensibly that of his predecessors—to treat an ancient story of tragic type by means of the interaction of recognized characters, breaking his account into episodes by lyrical passages. But the spirit is utterly different, in two ways. First, the tone of his dialogue is lighter, more flexible; it is not usually colloquial, but with vast skill he has made it brisker, cleverer, and so less stately.

The other main difference is the implications of his plots. Externally, the action leads up to the edifying, or at least familiar, result dictated by the received legend. Actually, the effect upon us is that the gods are villains, or fools, or non-existent as persons, that the heroic figures of myth are extremely human, marked by sordid crimes or pitiful weakness. That is why Euripides so often uses the "god from the machine"; if the story as he represents it is to close in the accepted manner, a downright miracle of reversal must occur.

Euripides' method is the "reductio ad absurdum," exemplified best in his "Ion." Apollo determines to establish his own unacknowledged son Ion (at present a server in his temple at Delphi) as prince of Athens by causing Xuthus, husband of the Athenian princess Creusa, to suppose Ion his own son. The plot fails; Creusa (really the mother of Ion, whom she does not recognize, having exposed him at birth in the expectation that he would therefore die), enraged that Xuthus should have a son when she has lost hers, seeks to murder Ion. This attempt is frustrated, and Apollo's priestess, by giving Ion his birth-tokens, enables him to recognize his mother. Their joy is cut short by the lad's inquiry, "Who is my father?" Creusa tells him, "Apollo."

A TRAGIC ACTOR

High-soled buskins and hair piled high above a mask, as seen in this delightful ivory statuette, gave the Greek tragic actor an average stature of some 6 feet 6 inches.

Monumenti dell Instituto

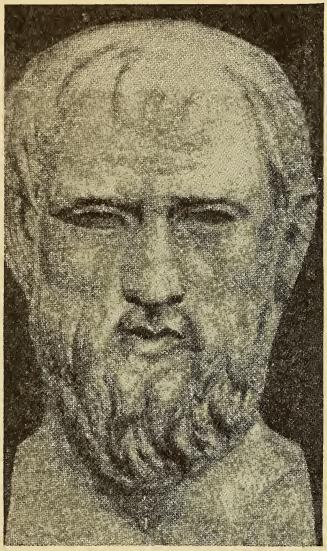
Immediately he perceives that the god must have told a lie to Xuthus, and insists on entering the shrine to cross-examine the oracle. But he is abruptly checked by the apparition of Athena, who smothers the whole question by a bland announcement that "Apollo has done all things well." One great element, then, in Euripides is the proof that the traditional gods do not exist, interwoven with a demonstration of the manner in which their existence has been accepted in more credulous times.

Yet there is far more than theology. Euripides was not only a rationalist but a poet—a poet restless and at times self-torturing. This restlessness produced two fine things: the lovely, wistful lyrics which relieve so wonderfully the sin and heartbreak of those masterpieces, "The Medea," "The Bacchae," "The Hippolytus," and the sympathy marking his portrayal of characters with which the legend has dealt harshly or not at all. Beside his famous and magnificent understanding of women we find on every hand nameless peasants and slaves who not only become in his work real people with features of their own and special experiences of life, but also mark and mould the plot.

Our information as to Greek Comedy is more scanty, partly because we have only one great author as against the three tragedians, partly because, comedy being for so long purely popular and unofficial, even Aristotle had little knowledge about its early course. The playwrights were divided by ancient scholars into the Old, the Middle and the New Comedy. The second category is the least important, a rather negative stage intervening between the Old and the New, which differed immensely.

Of the Old Comedy the three chief poets were Cratinus, Eupolis and Aristophanes, who seem to have corresponded to Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides respectively in calibre and temperament. Only fragments survive of the first two.

Of Aristophanes we possess eleven complete plays. He has tremendous zest, a riotous sense of fun, a lyrical charm unsurpassed by any Greek, a great deal of (usually incidental) grossness, and magnificent inventive power. He suggests Shakespeare more readily than does any other ancient writer, most of all through his unquenchable vigor and



A MASTER OF THE OLD COMEDY

Aristophanes (c. 445-388 B.C.) was the chief representative of the Old Comedy. Besides being a supreme comic genius with irresistible humor and brilliant wit, he was a great poet, comparable with Shakespeare.

From Baumeister, 'Denkmäler'

lyrical sweetness. A marked difference between them is that Shakespeare is preeminent for magnificent characters, Aristophanes for richly comic situations.

All his dramas have much the same plan. First, there is a vast explosive idea which sets the world on its head. When this project has been effected by the hero there comes a *parabasis,* or long address by the chorus to the audience, openly in the poet's name. Then follows a succession of scenes—rudimentary dramas—which display the results of the hero's achievement, and the comedy ends with his spectacular "triumph."

These elements are all well exemplified by "The Peace." Trygaeus, an Athenian farmer, filled with misery and disgust by the long Peloponnesian War, mounts up to Heaven on a giant flying beetle to remonstrate with King Zeus. But all the gods have departed save Hermes (Mercury), who acts as caretaker. In their place they have left the War Spirit, who is seen fiercely compounding in his mortar a salad of cheese (Sicily), honey (Athens), leeks (Prasiae), onions (Megara), and failing to pound all to pulp only because both pestles are lost—an allusion to the fact that Brasidas of Sparta and Cleon of Athens, the leaders of the war parties, have both just died. He disappears, and Trygaeus, learning from Hermes that the goddess Peace has been buried in a cave by the War Spirit, calls the states of Greece together that she may be rescued.

In a wild scene of struggle, exhortation and abuse she is hauled up into daylight. The chorus of farmers greet her joyfully. Then the parabasis describes the merits of Aristophanes, following this up with a comic song. Amid great rejoicing preparations begin for a sacrificial banquet, when a priest enters, vigorously begging for a share in the victim; he is driven off. A second parabasis follows. Then come other interrupters, tradesmen who have found profit or ruin through the institution of the peace. The play ends with the marriage-procession of Trygaeus and the goddess.

Such huge comic inventions are found in all the plays. In "The Birds" a discontented Athenian persuades the birds to starve out the gods by founding a city in the air; in "The Frogs" Dionysus, disgusted with the surviving tragedians, goes down to Hades to fetch the dead Euripides, but brings back Aeschylus; in "The Plutus" the blind god of wealth, who gives prosperity to the undeserving, is restored to sight with sensational results.

We find, in the last of his surviving plays, an important change: "The Plutus" shows a great advance towards the New Comedy. This latter is so unlike the Old that one might feel reluctance to

class them under the same head. Menander differs from (most of) Aristophanes much as Congreve differs from Shakespeare. In place of the riotous zest, the showering jokes, the personal satire, the indecency, the poetic brilliance, which mark the Old, the most notable quality in the New Comedians is a style quiet, sophisticated, elegant; in short, the comedy of buffoonery has been succeeded by the Comedy of Manners. The new work appeals mainly to the intellect where the old appealed to high spirits.

We have always possessed a clear notion of Menander's dialogue from a large collection of small fragments. As to his merits in plot and character-drawing it was usual to assume that the six Latin comedies of Terence were translations of Menander and others. We can now read very considerable portions of several Menandrian plays, recovered late last century from the Egyptian sand. It is plain that he was as like Molière and Congreve as a Greek could well be. The characters are types, admirably conceived, but not as individuals. The plot is neat, far more complicated than in Aristophanes, and depends not only upon character but also upon accidents of meeting and misunderstanding. The dialogue is wonderfully supple and elegant—witty, not funny.

Towards this style, we have said, Aristophanes himself was moving: "The Plutus" points the way from "The Birds" to Menander's "Girl With Bobbed Hair." The reason for this change was the Peloponnesian War. Athens had been utterly defeated after twenty-seven years of struggle and growing disillusionment. Her spirit became less vigorous and more sophisticated: a somewhat jaded cleverness became her leading note. And the ancient comedian, like the modern novelist, reacted more quickly to such changes than any other artist. So Aristophanes began the change.

But another playwright contributed to the New Comedy—Euripides. The dialogue of Menander owes much to the comparatively light and buoyant style of such "tragedies" as "The Helena." In the machinery of Euripides' plots, also, many "New" ideas are found for the first time, such as the recognition of long-lost children by birthmarks and amulets. Moreover, his pervasive ingenuity had a strong influence upon the later comedians.

It is remarkable that Plato, for all his quarrel with the poets, not only quotes them but adopts a quasi-dramatic form for his own writings. They are all (except the "Letters") thrown into dialogue. In the First Book of "The Republic," in "The Symposium," in "Protagoras," the setting and the characterization are elaborate and delightful. "The Symposium," for instance, depicts a dinner-party given by the tragic poet Agathon, among the guests being Aristophanes and Socrates. They agree to amuse themselves, not by the usual hired music, but by their own ingenuity; each in turn is to pronounce a eulogy of Eros, the Love-God. From this series of speeches comes the modern use of the word "symposium."

Plato puts into the mouth of each guest a different type of rhapsody, that given to Aristophanes being a truly marvelous imitation, not of his literary style but of his quaint and rich inventiveness —how human beings were at first double, with two heads, four arms and so forth, how God in annoyance with them slit each vertically into two, and how in this later world each half is running about in search of its affinity. This blend of beauty, pathos and absurdity is absolute Aristophanes. Socrates' speech is still more celebrated. He gives the story of Eros' birth which (he says) was told him by Diotima, a woman of Mantinea, who taught him also the true work of Love—namely to bring forth offspring "in the beautiful," but offspring spiritual rather than physical.

When Socrates has done, the party is interrupted by a band of revellers, at their head the glorious but ill-starred Alcibiades, exalted by wine and insisting upon adding a contribution of his own to the discussion, a eulogy not of Eros but of Socrates, and one of the most eloquent, beautiful and audacious outbursts in Greek or any other literature.

One must not glide off into an account of Plato's teaching. This is not the place to estimate his stupendous contribution to philosophy. Yet on the literary side, too, he is among the greatest, capable of every variety of excellence in prose, from the awe-inspiring account of the Creator in his "Timaeus," the passionate love of holiness in "The Phaedo," to the exquisite

grace of "The Charmides" and the banter of "The Euthydemus." His dialogue form allies him to the Athenian dramatists, but indirectly: he derives it from the Sicilian mime, that rudimentary dramatic type to which Aristotle refers the origin of Attic Comedy and of which the sketches written by Herodas in Alexandrian times are the descendants.

Here Aristotle must be practically ignored. Though his philosophy and science are of the first importance, his writings, considered strictly as literature, possess very slight interest.

Among his contemporaries were Alexander the Great and Demosthenes, the finest orator of antiquity, whose most famous works, the "Philippics," the "Olynthiacs" and "On the Crown," are concerned with his long struggle against the rising power of Alexander's father, Philip, King of Macedonia. In vain he strove to rouse the Athenians to understand their peril, to show themselves worthy of the Athens which had routed Persia and held out as if by miracle for nine years when all seemed lost in Sicily. The old spirit was gone: plague and twenty-seven years of disastrous war had left a people keen and artistic, indeed, but no longer buoyant and vigorous in politics.

The word "philippic" has become a traditional name for a speech of fierce invective: Cicero's orations against Antony are rather strangely so called. But Demosthenes' own speeches are more than this. Besides abuse of the Macedonian and revelation of his designs upon Greece, there is a great deal of reproachful incitement addressed to the Athenians, and much sound political philosophy, in easily understood, brilliantly eloquent language.

Demosthenes exerts such terrific force, such a tingling sincerity, that the events themselves live on in his sentences.

Most eloquence is an admirable comment on events or prospects; the words of Demosthenes transform events, and become themselves a part of human experience. He has no rival except Burke in his power of combining narrative, argument, reproach, exhortation into one running fire before which meanness, folly, tyranny and cowardice shrivel to cinders.

Among the lesser Greek orators mention must be made of Aeschines, the floridly brilliant opponent of Demosthenes and Philip's supporter; and of Isocrates, who wrote pamphlets in speech form which profoundly influenced the style of Cicero and, through him, modern oratory.

Demosthenes, Aristotle and Alexander died almost at the same time, and with them the Greek spirit may be said to have expired. There followed an immensely long period during which a vast amount of literature appeared, much of it good, much of it important, but showing little of the distinctively Greek genius. Josephus, who described the conquest of Jerusalem, composed his narrative first in Hebrew, afterwards translating it into Greek. Plutarch reads more like a modern French or English writer than like Thucydides. The tremendous conquest of Alexander, in fact, ended the Greek world proper, partly by destroying the power of the old city states, partly by throwing open the Middle East to Greek civilization. What followed was a wide diffusion of diluted Helenism. In Alexandria, there grew up under the Ptolemies a distinguished school of writers whose characteristics were ingenuity, learning and sophistication.

Far the most famous and most original of these was Theocritus, the pastoral poet. His idylls ("little pictures") are vignettes of contemporary life, sometimes photographic, sometimes beautiful through sincere feeling and their exquisite, rather sugary style. His pastorals deal with the everyday life of shepherds and other peasants—their flocks, their sweethearts, their naïve hopes, quarrels and anxieties.

C. S. Calverley has published an admirable rendering of the whole collection into English verse, and there the reader may enjoy such little masterpieces as the celebrated Fifteenth Idyll, which represents two women of Alexandria gossiping about servants, clothes and husbands, later visiting the festival at the palace after an exciting journey through streets crowded with sightseers and Household Cavalry; or the Twenty-eighth, an exquisite letter to a lady accompanying the gift of an ivory distaff; or the Second, where a girl seeks by incantations to win back her faithless

lover; or, the finest poem of Later Greece, the Seventh, depicting the harvest-festival.

The First Idyll, which contains the exquisite lament for Daphnis the shepherd, has prompted many imitations. Bion (another idyllist) wrote a "Lament for Adonis," and Moschus a "Lament for Bion." Milton's "Lycidas" belongs to the same type, despite its allegory; Shelley's "Adonais" and Arnold's "Thyrsis," for all their new magnificence, are prompted by the Theocritean idea, as the Greek names show.

It will be seen that the Alexandrian period produced a great uprising of romance, and though it was long before a genuine novel appeared, the epic of Apollonius Rhodius has many marks of the novel, especially in the splendid picture of Medea's passion for the hero Jason.

Later ages of Greek literature were largely concerned with tradition—the study and the interpretation of the mighty past. Among the most celebrated authors is Plutarch, from whom we learn more than from any other one man about the history and spirit of ancient Europe. His vast knowledge and industry, his pleasant style, his fine natural love for whatever is generous, have given the "Parallel Lives" an influence unique among secular books. His method is to compose biographies in pairs—a Greek and a Roman whose careers are somewhat alike, such as Coriolanus and Alcibiades—adding a comparison. Plutarch's other works are massed together in the "Opera Moralia."

Another brilliant heir of the complete Graeco-Roman culture was Lucian, a facile and attractive writer of short pieces filled with amusing satirical studies of gods, men and women: his best-known book, "Dialogues of the Dead," has prompted several brilliant modern imitations. About the same period was composed the greatest critical work of antiquity, that essay "On the Sublime" which has been wrongly attributed to Longinus. It is an acute, brilliant and informing study of elevation in literary style, rather than the "sublime" in the sense used by Burke in his own treatise.

A very minor element in Greek literature is the novel. Men of the great period would have been amazed by the very conception of a novel, for, interested in their personal careers and emotions like the rest of us, they yet felt that literature should deal with communal, not individual, concerns; and though brilliant characters are to be found in epic and tragic poetry, they are yet closely involved in national interests. Moreover, a novel is entirely "untrue," and they saw no value in the "untrue" except as allegory or politics.

Only after the Greek world had been absorbed in the Roman, and public affairs had been centralized, did the interests of the apparently commonplace individual become a leading topic of literature. Even then the novel was altogether inferior to modern fiction in every respect save thrilling situations. Heliodorus wrote "The Aethiopica" ("A Story of Africa"), which is full of the perils and escapes of two lovers. Less excitement, but far more beauty, invests "Daphnis and Chloe," the third-century pastoral romance of Longus.

The same causes favored the growth, if not the origin, of that great collection known as the Anthology ("Garland"), a storehouse of brief poems, often called epigrams, on love, death, art, anything and everything which permanently attracts humanity. An epigram is originally a brief poem on one definite point—it may be an epitaph or a joke; the modern meaning of the word is due to the Latin epigrammatist Martial, who usually provides such poems with "a sting in the tail."

Nearly all these tiny works have common characteristics: frugal neatness in style, directness and simplicity of thought and feeling, definiteness of subject. Many of them are among the finest things in Greek and correspond to the engraved gem in manual art.

THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

HOW THEY CONCEIVED THE OBJECTS OF THEIR WORSHIP AND REPRESENTED THEM IN ART

LEWIS R. FARNELL, D.Litt., F.B.A.

Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, 1913-1928; Author of 'Cults of the Greek States,' 'Outline History of Greek Religion,' etc.

OF THE various sources open to our study, it is Greek literature and Greek art that contribute most to our deeper intelligence of the religious consciousness and ideals of the educated Hellene. Taking literature first, of the imaginative works, some deal directly with religion, such as the Homeric hymns of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and much of the lyrical poetry, since in this general category we include hymns. Others, such as the Homeric epic poems, the odes of Pindar in honor of the victorious athlete, and the whole of Attic tragedy, are indirectly concerned with the religion, as they interweave their secular narrative or dramatic plot with divine agencies.

Very frequently the public and private speeches of the great orators of Athens give us incidental flashlights on the religious faith and feeling of the average Athenian of the fourth century, for the orator is a trustier spokesman of the average man than the poet or the philosopher. The philosophic literature, indeed, while it is of supreme importance for the history of the higher religious thought of Greece, contributes but scantily to our knowledge of the real popular religion, though much may be gathered from Plato's "Laws," and, for the later days of paganism, from the writings of Plutarch.

As for art, Greek art is at least as illuminative as the literature for our appreciation of the religious imagination of the people. We may confidently assert that no religion of the world has owed so much to the art that embodied it as the Hellenic.

NOW, in the light of the knowledge afforded us by art and literature combined, we can discern that Greek religion is an organized polytheism consisting of a hierarchy of divinities, male and female, under the supremacy of the High God Zeus. The deities are sharply defined, concrete and individual, with special moral characteristics and often with special interests and functions, and more anthropomorphically imagined than those of any of the other higher religions. They are called *Theoi*—that is, concrete divine persons; and Apollo was no less definite and real and individual than Achilles. This account applies most fittingly to the higher and leading divinities, to Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite. We cannot interpret these as Nature powers or physical deities, whose characters were merely developed from any element or department of the natural world.

It is true that the Greeks of all periods remembered that their supreme deity, Zeus, had been in the "Aryan" period the sky god, or the divine sky pure and simple; but already in the Homeric poems he is presented as much more than this.

Below this worship of high personal deities, we find a mass of phenomena belonging to a lower and less fully developed state of religion, at which the divine power is vaguely and more animistically conceived. When Aristophanes marks the superiority of the Hellene to the barbarians by asserting that they worshipped the sun and the moon, while the former worshipped real personal gods such as Zeus, Hermes and Apollo, his statement was true enough, but was not the whole truth. Everywhere and, so far as we can see, through all the pre-Christian period, the Hellene had some feeling of reverence for the sun and moon and the various winds. A few communities might even worship a particular star such as Sirius; everywhere we find the worship of Nymphs, "the Brides," the mysterious powers that lurk, unseen or half seen, in the wild, the meadow and the wood, powers sometimes dangerous but easily

won to bestow blessing. The very name "Brides," or "young women," shows the anthropomorphic trend.

Many other factors are found in the domain of Greek religion that belong to the level below that of the High Gods. Among them is the worship of gods or "daimones" that may be called "functional" because their power and activity are specifically limited to a single function.

Such "functional" gods are the Hero of the Ploughshare—known to us through Browning's poem—Echetlus; Eunostus the Hero of the Good Harvest; the Bean Hero, who looks after beans; the Hero of the Mill, who supervises the grinding of corn.

SUPERSTITION'S FAVORITE RESORT

Alongside the advanced intellectual culture attained in ancient Greece there flourished a primitive faith in oracles and omens. Divination from the entrails of animals was practiced, as in Mesopotamia and Etruria; here we see a warrior examining entrails to discover the auspices before departing for the wars.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.

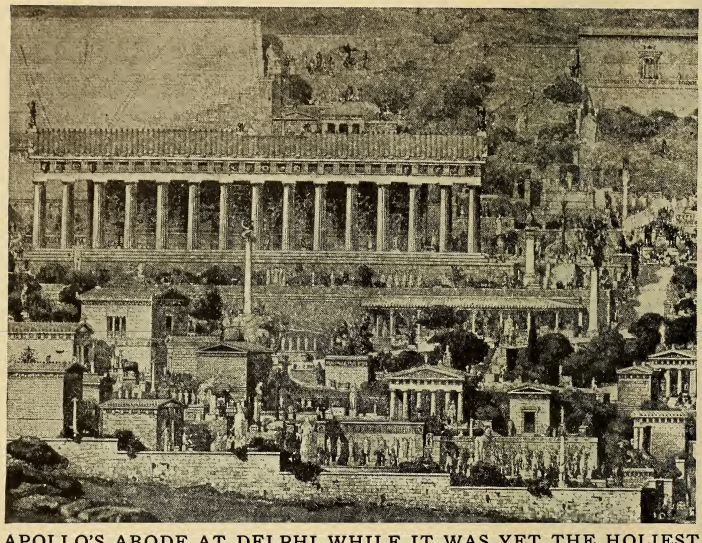
Still more nebulous and indefinite appear to be certain vague groups of powers, without individual personality or name, but bearing only a functional group-name, such as the *Theoi Meilichioi*, the divine powers of the lower world that had to be propitiated for bloodshed.

AT THE SHRINE OF ASKLEPIOS

As the god of healing, Asklepios (Latin, Aesculapius) was the patron of physicians, and his priests combined some understanding of medicine with their belief in magic. This tablet shows a sufferer halted before the serpent twined about a bough that was the God's symbol.

Ny Carlsberg Museum

We cannot discern, in any case within the limits of the history of the Greek race, the general emergence of personal deities from lower forms: the personal gods are there, vivid, strong and in many cases fully formed, at the very beginning. The evolution of Greek religion consists mainly in the ever-increasing wealth of attributes and functions wherewith the higher deities are invested, and whereby they are brought into closer contact with the life of the state, the family and the individual. They are the deities of a race that progressed through many centuries, and they progressed with their people. However, this



APOLLO'S ABODE AT DELPHI WHILE IT WAS YET THE HOLIEST SANCTUARY IN GREECE

A great religious center sacred to Apollo, in whose temple was the celebrated and exceedingly influential oracle, Delphi was enriched and beautified by the offerings of the Greek states—becoming a vast repository of art, as is shown by this restoration. Everything is grouped round the splendid Doric temple of Apollo, whose colossal statue stands near by; behind the temple and occupying one corner of the precinct (top left) is the theater. Among the monuments was the famous statue of the Charioteer. On the hillside immediately below the left-hand column of the temple is the treasury of the Athenians, with those of other cities clustered about it.

From Tournaire, 'Fouilles de Delphes'

progress did not demand the violent excision of lower and cruder elements or any revolutionary break with the past such as Christianity demanded of paganism. In Greek religion there was no powerful prophet or Protestant reformer. Orpheus and others might at times have introduced a new god or a new pregnant religious concept, but not in antagonism to the traditional worship.

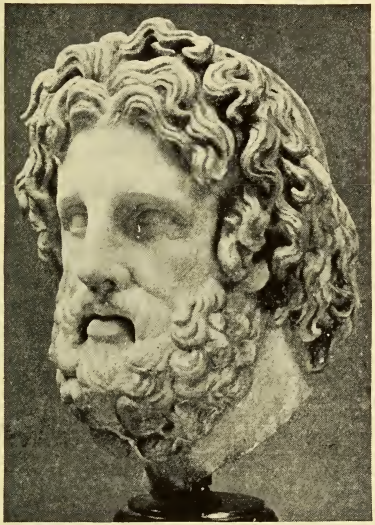
The history of Greek religion, then, is not primarily concerned with the origin of gods. The briefest account of it must deal with the attributes and various functions of the leading divinities in the different spheres and departments where they act for Man.

These may be classified as the world of Nature including vegetation, human society in its various forms, the sphere of morality, the sphere of art, and, finally, the individual soul. Some of the leading divinities, especially Zeus and Apollo, are found active in all these spheres; most of them in more than one, only the lesser deities being really specialized to one department.

Nature worship naturally includes the adoration of the great cosmic phenomena. We soon discover in the study of Greek religion how small a part these played in the devotion of the Hellenic communities. It was only at Rhodes that the figure of Helios, the sun, rose to the dignity of a High God of the state, and this was probably due to the powerful and abiding influence of the pre-Hellenic tradition. In Greece there is nothing parallel to the remarkable development of the sun god in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

As, however, the agrarian and pastoral life played so large a part in the political economy of the Greek states, in spite of commercial expansion, all the higher deities were concerned with the growth of the crops or the care of the herds.

In observing the Nature worships recorded by the literature and the monuments we are struck by one fact of great significance; namely, the aboriginal "Aryan" sky god Zeus was operative and powerful not only in the sky but also on the earth as a god of trees and vegetation, and even below the earth as the life-nourishing god who sends up the seeds, and from whom Hades, the "Unseen One," is probably an emanation. He has power even over the sea and in the sea; and according to one derivation the name of Poseidon, from of old a separate though cognate god, signified originally "god of the sea."



MAJESTIC KING OF GODS

By the Greeks Zeus was worshipped as king of gods, men and the dead. His transcendent majesty and power are suggested with extraordinary force in this sculptured head from Melos.

British Museum

Another progressive feature that may be marked in Greek Nature worship was the association of the dark world below the earth and of the powers lurking therein with the life that blooms in fruits and flowers, whereby that world could shed its terrors and engender a higher mystic religion of happiness and peace.

But it was the association of religion with every function and department of the social and political life that was the distinctive feature of the Hellene, for among no other people do we find the deities so closely concernd with every part of the state organism, and nowhere else do the attributes and characters of the higher divinities reflect so much of the life and aspirations of the citizens.

The city state was based on the idea of kinship, having absorbed the narrower forms of union, the family, the clan or the tribe. And all these groupings were held together by cults in which special titles, expressing the social fact, were attached to divinities. The family was the simplest unit in the city state, and the monogamic union on which it was based was consecrated by a religious ceremony and was believed to be upheld by Zeus and Hera, preeminently the divinities of marriage, whose "holy marriage" was the counterpart of the human and was performed in a public ritual by the Greek state, and in private by the bride and bridegroom.

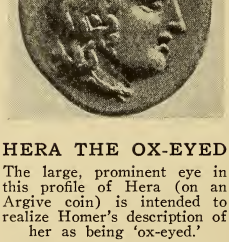
From pre-Homeric days and throughout the later centuries the family gathered for worship round the altar of Zeus in the courtyard; and "Zeus of the Garth" became the guardian of the family morality.

The higher deities, especially Zeus and Athene, also presided over the wider kinship groups such as the clan and the brotherhood or "phratria," and from these they received invocative titles such as "Phratrios" or "Phratria." The theory that the city was a group of kinsmen was sometimes quickened by the belief that the deity was in a literal and physical sense the ancestor of the people. Thus Zeus was the "father god" of the Dorians, Apollo the "father god" of the

Ionians, Poseidon of the Minyans. The dogma of the virginity of Athene prevented her becoming in the literal sense the ancestress of the Athenians, but as the foster-mother of their ancestor-hero Erechtheus she acquired for her beloved city the tender interest of a Madonna.

Whether regarded as the city ancestors or not, the higher deities of Greece took a deep and active part in political life, maintaining laws and institutions and inspiring counsel. Pre-eminent in this sphere were alawys Zeus, Athene and Apollo. It is only the two former, the High God and his daughter, that were ever invoked and worshipped by the significant title of Polieus and Polias, "the guardian of the city."

To show fully and impressively the part played by religion in the external and internal history of Greece demands a history of the Delphic oracle. The verses of Homer show that already in his age it was beginning to be influential in the public life and among the settlements of the early Greek world; and there are reasons for accepting the legend that it associated itself with the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese. The later legislators, in framing constitutions for the Greek cities, consulted it and were supposed to be inspired by it. It was the natural authority to consult concerning matters of ritual or any change in the religious institutions. But, above all, skilfully directed by the priests it was the chief instigator and director of Greek colonization for it was the accepted belief that no new colony could thrive unless it was prompted by or had the blessings of Apollo of Delphi.



HERA THE OX-EYED

The large, prominent eye in this profile of Hera (on an Argive coin) is intended to realize Homer's description of her as being 'ox-eyed.'

From E. A. Gardner, 'Types of Greek Coins

A religion that is essentially tribal or civic or national is liable to certain drawbacks that may hinder the highest religious development. If a deity's life were wholly bound up with the city, the fatal corollary might be drawn that the deity perished with the destruction of the city. This was drawn in Mesopotamian religion, but never in Greece; for the belief in the eternity of the higher divine powers was common, as far as we know, to all the Greek societies, and every one of the leading members of the Pantheon was worshipped by many states, or at least by more states than one. Therefore, if one city was extinguished, another would maintain the cult.

Nor do we find in the Hellenic characterization of divinity that intense spirit of tribal or national jealousy that infects the God of Israel in his early period. In fact, already by the time of Homer Zeus is more than a tribal, more even than a national, god. The Homeric phrase, constantly attached to him, "Father of Gods and Men," must be interpreted not in a literal and physical sense, but in a spiritual; and it accords with this idea that the Homeric Zeus is found to care equally for the Trojans and for the Achaeans. Here is the germ of a humanitarian world religion, overstepping the narrow limits of family, tribe or city.

Some limitations, indeed, inherent in the old civic religion, still remained; no genuine Greek cult was propagandist; the stranger was frequently excluded by law from sharing in or even witnessing the cult. Nevertheless, in spite of its intensely political-civic character, the religion shows the progressive quality of the Greek spirit in the power of the religious imagination to expand.

Looking away from literature to the actual cult, we find certain moral ideas, such as justice and mercy, reflected especially in the worship of Zeus; and the more advanced moral and legal view concerning homicide was propagated and fostered by the Apolline religion in Crete, Delphi and Athens.

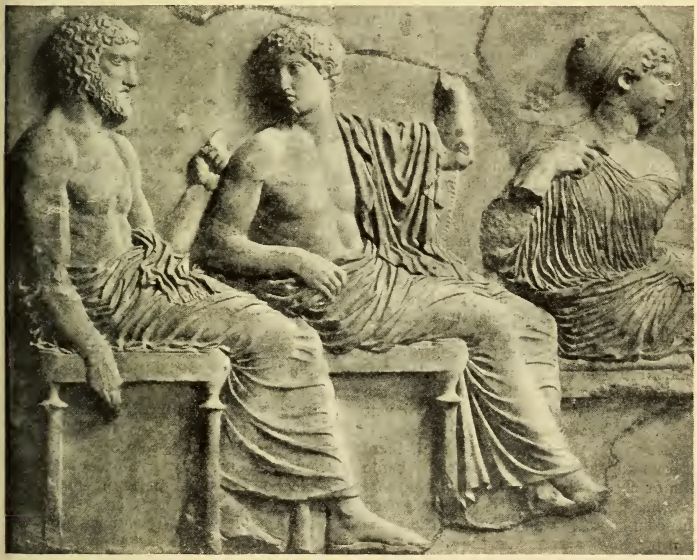
Doubtless the Hellenic religion fell far short of the Hebraic as a moral force constraining moral conduct, and at no period did it include the modern religious ideal of active philanthropy or service to Mankind. But so long as it was alive and the Greek communities were free, it fostered the virile virtues of the citizen, patriotism,

courage, the sense of duty to family, kindred and city, the duty of abiding by a sworn covenant and regard for the rights of the stranger. It preached no ascetic self-denial, no superhuman ideals, but on the whole it inculcated that moderation, in act and emotion, upon which Aristotle could base his ethics.

It is to the intellectual domain of art and science rather than to law and ethics that Greek religion made its most impressive contribution. The astonishing outburst of Ionic philosophy in the sixth century was indirectly indebted to the absence of any religious dogmatism or prejudice that could impede it. The Greek world had the great advantage of possessing no sacred books that could impose as a duty of faith any definite belief about matters that were the proper domain of physical science or speculation. The Greek freethinker only incurred danger if he proclaimed his disbelief in some deity's godhead: he was free, on the whole, to publish what he could discover about the origins of things and the movements of the heavenly bodies.

If the popular mind admitted the belief that the philosophic life was divinely sanctioned and inspired, it was the philosophers who had taught them this. On the other hand, it was from their own emotional-religious experience that the people drew the perception of the divine origin and inspiration of art and poetry.

In this sphere it was the high deities, Apollo and Athena, who took the lead; but still more interesting are the divine personalities known to us as "the Muses," once real personal powers in the old polytheism, which more than aught else attest the strength in the popular mind of Hellas of the aesthetic emotion that could project upon the retina of faith such figures as these.



APOLLO THE BEAUTIFUL AND AUSTERE

Patron of the arts and of medicine, Apollo was regarded as the divine poet and thinker. In this group from the Parthenon frieze he is the center figure. In front of him is Aphrodite, and he is turning to speak with the bearded sea god, Poseidon.

From Furtwängler, 'Intermezzi'; Athens, Acropolis Museum

IDEAL BEAUTY OF THE GODDESS OF LOVE

Although she was regarded as personifying both spiritual and carnal love, the cult of Aphrodite was on the whole austerely moral. This is illustrated by the absence of sentimentality and voluptuousness in the faces shown above. Both are of a pure beauty that suggests divinty. In the Louvre head (left) Aphrodite is represented as gravely conscious of her power; the other (in the Leconfield collection, Petworth) gives expression to the ideal of love without any suggestion of sensuality.

The Louvre, and Furtwängler, 'Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture,' Bruckmann A.G.

The mutual interaction of the art and the religion forms one of the most interesting chapters in the ampler history of Greek religion. No other polytheism has lent itself with such ready suggestion to the shaping and creative skill of the sculptor and painter; for by the sixth century the various divine types had been mainly fixed in the popular imagination, kindled and refined as it was by the great epic and lyric poetry, with traits of such marked individuality and attractive humanity that the maturing skill of the artist could achieve an ideal embodiment that carried conviction.

As regards the Olympian deities, there was no vague mysticism that could baffle him or obscure his vision. Such sculptors as Pheidias, Scopas and Praxiteles, even the coin-engravers and chasers, the fifth-century vase painters and the great painters of the fourth century, could express in the divine features and forms the life-history, the ethical or emotional character of the god or the goddess, without any hieratic symbolism; and thus the natural anthropomorphism of the Greek mind engendered the most perfect religious art.

The masterpiece of the world's religious sculpture was the chryselephantine statue of the Zeus Olympius by Pheidias. Unfortunately no copy in any material with any artistic merit has come down to us, but a head from Melos in the British Museum, whether we call it Zeus or Zeus-Asklepios, gives us a most noble example of the manner in which Greek sculpture of the best period could render the countenance of the High God.

In the best Greek art the ideal embodiment of Hera as the imperial goddess, the spouse of Zeus, who according to the Argive tradition yearly renewed her maidenhood, is more impressive than Homer's portrait of her. Of Athene, the maiden goddess of war and wisdom, and the Madonna of Athens, the greatest representation in antiquity was Pheidias' masterpiece in gold and ivory, called Athene Parthenos, the temple statue of the Parthenon.

Perhaps the genius of Apollo, the intel-

lectual god, the divine musician, the young god of purity, as he was imagined in the highest vision of Greek poetry and art, is best preserved for us by the Chatsworth bronze head and the slab of the Parthenon frieze, where he is seen in conversation with the elder god Poseidon.

As regards the ideal of Aphrodite, the Cnidian statue of Praxiteles (next to the Zeus Olympius the most famous statue in the ancient world) is represented to us only by copies. But there are two works that may show us what Greek religious sculpture could achieve in dealing with this type. One is the head of the goddess in the Louvre, of the Pheidian school and closely resembling the style of the Parthenon; the other the Aphrodite head belonging to the Petworth collection. Both, though of different style, are of high spiritual quality, and show the character of the love goddess and emotion of love as a divine force.

Among the world's masterpieces of religious sculpture we must rank the statue in the British Museum called the Demeter of Cnidus, a work showing the style of the Attic school in the fourth century.

No less high a level of spiritual art is reached by the unknown coin artist who wrought the head of Kore, the daughter of Demeter, as the virgin goddess of spring, on a Syracusan medallion of the fifth century—an exquisite piece of numismatic art, in which the loveliness of spring is blent with a touch of sorrow in the drooping corners of the mouth.

The facts so far presented reveal the Hellenic religion on its brighter side. This, however, is not the whole picture. There is another side called "chthonian" (Gr. *chthon,* the ground), linked with the worship and fear of the darker powers that lurk in the world below the earth.

Such an element is to be found in all the world-religions, but if we compare the Hellene before the period of his decadence with the other peoples of the ad-

BENIGNANT EARTH GODDESS

The divine personality of Demeter, goddess of the earth and giver of fertility, was spiritualized by the Greeks, and the religion which centered in her was of widespread importance. All the stateliness, the beauty and the mystery of her cult are embodied in this fourth-century statue from Cnidus now in the British Museum.

DEITIES OF THE FRUITFUL EARTH

With Demeter was usually associated her daughter Kore, the 'Maiden,' that is Persephone. Kore was the goddess of spring, whose power was evinced on the young growing vegetation, particularly the young corn. The two goddesses were commonly worshipped together; both are depicted in this relief panel from Eleusis. Between them is standing the youth Triptolemus, originally a local earth deity, but latterly worshipped in connexion with Demeter, as the divine plougher and distributor of corn.

National Museum Athens

vanced polytheisms, the Indian, the Mesopotamian, the Egyptian, we shall regard his temperamental and normal attitude to these matters as comparatively sane and well balanced. Greek demonology could not evolve such powers of evil as Satan or Ahriman or a dangerously serious Hell; nor was the highest Greek philosophy or ethical-religious speculation deeply preoccupied with the problem of evil.

In their religion there was a factor that helped the Greeks in this matter. The darkest creations of the popular mind that make for demonology are associated with the world below the earth. In the religious imagination of the Greek this world was mainly dominated by the earth mother, Ge or Gaia. Her realm, though it might harbor goblin forms of terror, was also the creative source of fertility and verdure; and, laying stress rather on this aspect of it, the Greek mind could refine the personality of the earth mother until she was worshipped under scarcely any other character than as the parent of all fruits and blossoms and the kindly fosterer of children.

Beliefs concerning the nether world and the fate of the soul after death are essentially linked with the question of the Greek mysteries and the diffusion of the Dionysiac cult. Primarily, the Greek mystery differed from the ordinary public cult in its secrecy; that is to say, only the initiated and those prepared for initiation could be admitted and then only after certain tests.

The mysteries of greatest prestige were those of Eleusis; in origin, perhaps, merely agrarian, they had acquired an eschatological value, offering posthumous happiness to the initiated, before 600 B.C., by which time it seems that the whole Hellenic world was invited to share in them. The influence that they exercised on the religious imagination of the Hellenic world was very great and remained strong till the end of paganism.

For all that we know, the Eleusinian mysteries were a purely Hellenic growth. On the other hand, the Orphic mysteries, which were of equal importance, though always belonging to private rather than the public religion, were of alien origin. They were associated with Dionysus, the wild and orgiastic god of Thrace, who was making his way into Greece already in the tenth century. His cult, with its Nature magic, its ecstasy of self-abandonment, its proffer of divine communion, contrasted with the sober and civic religion of Greece. Yet by the seventh century it had been admitted by the latter, disciplined and half-tamed.

From its civic side it bequeathed to Europe the priceless gift of the art of tragedy. But its mystic and enthusiastic character, which might have been submerged in the atmosphere of the Greek city state, was maintained and developed by the Orphic sectaries, who, claiming Orpheus as their apostle were winning a strong position in Greece in the sixth century and retained much influence until the last days of paganism. The religion and the theology that they preached contained many interesting and pregnant ideas, the germ of which they may have found in the old Thracian cult of Dionysus: the death and resurrection of the god; the divine origin of the human soul; its transmigration through a series of re-births in this world and the next; the belief in eternal happiness and eternal damnation combined with an idea of purgatory; and the power of the human soul to attain through purification and sacrament to complete union with God. It laid all its stress on "other-worldliness," and was the first propagandist religion recorded in Europe, for its appeal ignored the barriers of city, caste, family or sex.

Later centuries of paganism are marked off from the earlier by the decay of the old civic and political religion, and by the growth of these private religious societies, called "thiasoi," into which a private individual could voluntarily seek admission and which held the members in fellowship by a common meal and by their pledged devotion to a special divinity of their own selection, to whom they stood in a privileged relation. And if this divinity were a power of the nether world, such a position brought with it the surety of posthumous happiness.

IN AN ECSTASY OF DIONYSIAC DEVOTION

In one of his aspects Dionysus was revered as a vegetation god, and ceremonies in his honor took place before a tree stump upon which were hung a mask and draperies to represent the divine person. The ritual performed by Maenads before an image so constructed is illustrated in this Attic painting. Two of the devotees engage in frantic dance; another thumps a tambourine; while a fourth ladles wine—inevitable in the cult of Dionysus—from a bowl on the altar.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold, 'Griechische Vasenmalerei,' Bruckmann A.G.

The later Greek, indeed, was becoming more anxious about the salvation of his soul, and all the popular mysteries concerned themselves with this. Also, through the popularity in the later period of the cult of Asklepios, he was becoming habituated to the concept of the Man-god, who suffered and was glorified after death. And in these phenomena we see the foreshadowing of a new religion.

TRUE AND FALSE WITNESS TO PHEIDIAS' GENIUS

The sublimity of Pheidias' great image of Athene may be very adequately restored in the imagination since, though neither of the statuettes which mechanically reproduce the attitude of the goddess does justice to her features, there was discovered at Athens a replica of the face in marble, so wrought as to imitate gold and ivory work (left); its nobility is essentially Pheidian. The decadent Roman 'copy' (right), with its smooth prettiness, is an attempt to improve upon the original.

From Farnell, 'Cults of the Greek States,' and State Museum, Berlin

THE SPARTAN AND ATHENIAN EMPIRES

By W. R. HALLIDAY

Principal of King's College, London; Late Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool; Author of the Growth of the City State, etc.

THE topic of this 'study' is in a sense the history of the failure of the Greeks to adapt their political ideals to the needs of a political unit upon a larger scale than the city state. Assyrians and Persians had been successful in creating organized empires covering a wide area, which were administered by a single authority vested in an individual autocrat. An elaborate and highly centralized machinery of administration made it possible to hold and to govern with considerable efficiency what military superiority had won, and the single ruler of a conquering people was able to impose his will upon a motley collection of alien races. But the Greeks approached the problem of creating a state upon a scale sufficiently large to be effective in world politics from a different starting point.

If Hellenism was to hold its own, it needed to find expression in some political form more considerable and materially effective than the very small city state. Thus the Persian War, while its result vindicated the political ideals of the city state, virtually condemned that type of polity as a practical and permanent form of their expression.

Defence against invasion had already necessitated a combination of cities in a temporary political union, and the maintenance of the liberty thus secured necessarily involved the formation of an association of a yet closer kind, the Athenian Empire. It was indeed because they did not appreciate this broad aspect of the problem that the Greeks failed, and Hellenism was, in fact, secured as the permanent force directing the development of European civilization first by Alexander and his successors, and then by Rome. For Macedonians and Romans assimilated Greek culture, and succeeded where the Greeks had failed, in finding expression for it in political units which were organized upon a scale large enough to be practically effective.

The Greeks, we have said, approached the problem from a different starting point from that of the oriental monarchies. There you had a military race led by powerful monarchs who were eager for the glory and profits of extending their sway by conquest. The chief problems of the Eastern empires were concerned with the conquest and government of alien races. Here, in the Greek world, the operations had always been upon a small scale and carried out by independent bodies of inconsiderable size.

When the movement spread oversea it was a case of individual bands of adventurers making local conquests. Neither their strength nor their ambition went farther than this. The Greek world then settled down to the development of a single distinguishable civilization, it is true, but one which was divided up among, though it was equally shared by, a number of small political units which were fiercely independent of each other. In consequence, when overpopulation in the Greek cities caused the fresh expansion of the Greek people, which we know as the colonization movement of the eighth and seventh centuries, that expansion was not controlled nor directed from a single political centre, and still less was it the expression of a national ambition to inherit the earth.

The colonization movement of the eighth and seventh centuries was primarily due to overpopulation in the mother states, while contributing factors were the social and political fever of the time. The development of maritime commerce and colonial expansion naturally supplied a reciprocal stimulus to each other, and

it is possible to distinguish a primary and a secondary phase of Greek colonization. In the earlier stages land hunger was the chief motive force, and, in consequence, the sites were chosen mainly for their agricultural possibilities; in the later stages the preference was given to sites of commercial value, and there was a rivalry among colonising states to plant settlements upon the main routes of Greek trade.

But throughout the period of colonization the character of the Greek colony remained the same. It differed from the settlements of the migration period, for the colonists formed a body which was definitely organized by the mother state and was sent out to found a new town upon some definite chosen site. It differed profoundly, of course, from the Roman 'colonia.' The nearest Greek equivalent to the Roman colony was the Periclean 'cleruchy,' of which we must say something later in connection with Athenian imperialism. The Greek colony, again, was unlike the British colony, for the normal Greek colony was politically completely independent of the mother state.

The regular procedure, when a colony was founded, was to ask the blessing of the god at Delphi upon the undertaking. The mother state then appointed a leader ('oecist') for the colonizing expedition to regulate the affairs of the new community. With him he took fire from the public hearth of the mother city, from which to kindle that of the colony. At the chosen site a Greek town was laid out, and the arable land was divided into lots among the colonists, after certain estates had been set aside for the endowment of the gods. The colony remained bound by a strong sentimental tie to the mother city, and it was normal to give expression to this by sending deputations with prescribed offerings to attend certain public festivals and sacrifices of the mother state.

Again, if a prosperous colony in turn sent out a colony of her own, it was usual to send to the mother state for the oecist of the new settlement. Very close ties, then, were realized to exist between states which were linked in the relationship of mother and daughter, but normally these ties were sentimental only, and the mother state claimed no power to dictate or control the government of her colony. The colony was an independent political unit, bound to the mother state only by feelings of loyalty, not by any political or legal obligation.

The one considerable exception to this relationship seems to have been provided by Corinth and some of her colonies.

But we must not make too much of these exceptions. The normal custom was for the Greek colony to recognize very real sentimental ties with the mother state, but at the same time to claim complete autonomy and freedom from political interference. The colonization movement, therefore, did not create a Greek empire nor lead to a larger form of Greek state than the city.

We must now turn our attention to a form, not indeed of empire, but of a looser political association which throughout the fifth century was to play a very important part in Greece. Dorian Sparta, which had been planted in the fertile plain of Laconia, had been forced by circumstances to develop a peculiar and very specialized form of state. The Dorians, here as elsewhere, had reduced some of the native population to the condition of serfs. But whereas in Argos, Corinth, Sicyon and the other Dorian states of the Peloponnese the agricultural serfs eventually achieved political rights and were incorporated in an additional non-Dorian tribe, in Sparta the 'helots,' as they were called, remained the slaves of rulers who were numerically inferior to them in strength.

The economic pressure which other states had met by commercial and colonial expansion, Sparta relieved by conquest. In the eighth century the Spartans crossed the mountain range of Taygetus and conquered the fruitful plain of Messenia. But Sparta's subsequent efforts to expand in other directions were checked. Her lack of success led in the earlier half of the sixth century to a far-reaching, reactionary reorganization of society and the state.

Henceforward Spartan institutions sacrificed all other considerations to the creation of an efficient army. The citizen body became a small military caste ruling by force a numerically superior and discontented subject population.

The Spartan boy was early taken from his home and was brought up in a company

or 'herd' of other boys. His training was devoted to the development of physical endurance and the martial virtues. When he became a man, his time was occupied with soldiering. His inalienable holding of land was worked for him by helots who were provided for that purpose by the state and were forced to contribute a fixed amount of produce for his subsistence. He himself lived with his fellows in a military mess. The Spartan citizens were thus in effect an army of professional soldiers.

These reactionary changes produced immediately the effect desired. The Spartan citizen army—a professional army where the field forces of other states were mere militia—was strong enough to maintain a dominant position over the subject population. It was also the most formidable fighting force in Greece and upon its reputation of invincibility Sparta's dominant position in the Greek world rested.

The new Sparta no longer attempted to extend her territory by conquest and annexation. Indeed that might have dangerously dispersed her strength. But she did not therefore abjure political ambitions. At the end of the sixth century the tyrannies of the northern Peloponnese were tending towards disintegration. Sparta assisted in 'liberating' cities from tyrants, taking care to entrust the government of liberated states in each case to the conservative element, which would be in sympathy with conservative Sparta. In this way Sparta secured a directing influence over the more important states of the Peloponnese with the notable exception of Argos.

By the end of the sixth century we find the Peloponnesian League in existence. It included practically all the Peloponnesian states except Argos and those of Achaea, and beyond the Isthmus of Corinth Megara and Boeotia were also members. At one time Sparta had hoped to have added Athens as well, but that plan had been shattered in 506 B.C. by Athenian obstinacy, internal political rivalries in Sparta herself and the reluctance of Corinth to assist Sparta to become too powerful in central Greece.

Politically the Peloponnesian League was a loose federation, the individual members of which enjoyed complete autonomy as regards their internal affairs. Actually their autonomy was so far limited that Sparta in practice took care that oligarchies, favorably disposed towards herself, were kept in power in the various states. But its importance in the sphere of Greek politics lay in the provision made for joint military action; for there was no military land force in Greece, before the rise of Macedon, that was at all comparable in strength to the army of the Peloponnesian League.

The League might be set in motion upon the initiative of any member. But if the moving party were not Sparta, Sparta must first be convinced. If the Spartan Assembly approved the prima facie case for military action by the League, a congress of representatives of the constituent members was then summoned. The case was put before the Congress by Sparta, not by the original complainant; each member of the League had one vote.

If the Congress determined that action was to be taken and war declared, Sparta then took full control of the military operations. She was entitled to demand contingents of troops and supplies from all the members of the League, the former to a maximum, in each case, of two-thirds of the state's total fighting strength. These allied forces were commanded by Spartan officers and the higher command was entirely in Spartan hands.

The very loose political organization of the League made for its permanence. As a military engine its power was unrivalled. In setting this engine in motion, Sparta had a degree of control which was denied to other members. If action were decided upon, Sparta had complete control in giving military effect to the policy of the League. It is not difficult to understand that before the emergence of a rival association of maritime states, the Athenian Empire, the existence of this formidable military weapon gave Sparta a unique authority among the states of Greece.

Athens had entered for the first time into the front rank of Greek states under Peisistratus. The foreign and colonial policy of that shrewd tyrant, indeed, anticipates the main lines of the foreign policy of Athens after the Persian War. In Greece, a close friendship with Thessaly and Argos; abroad, the advancement of the claims of Attica as being the motherland of the Ionians, in order to support

RIVAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT SPLIT THE GREEK WORLD

Between the Persian War and the fall of Athens politics on the mainland of Greece were so complicated that only the permanent members of the Peloponnesian League are here shown; the allies of Athens, as distinct from the maritime states of the Delian Confederation, being omitted. In general, the western islands of Corcyra, Cephallenia and Zacynthus and the mainland states of Locris Ozolis, Acarnania and Thessaly were sympathetic to Athens; Plataea was a faithful ally throughout: and at one period Argos was in alliance and Boeotia was forced into the Confederation.

pretensions to control the Cyclades; the establishment of Athenian strongholds on the Dardanelles in order thereby to control the trade route by which the Russian corn came to Greece; an exploitation of the natural resources of the Strymon region. But the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, the rebellion and reduction of Ionia by the Persians and the subsequent invasions of Greece by Persia interrupted any continuous development along these lines.

Meantime, between the Marathon expedition and the invasion of Xerxes ten years later, the far-sighted statesmanship of Themistocles had trebled the size of the Athenian navy. Although the claim of Sparta to command the patriot forces was undisputed, the battle of Salamis demonstrated the importance of sea power, and in the fleet the Athenian, not the Spartan, contingent was the largest and most efficient. While the battle of Plataea in 479 was completing the work of Salamis in European Greece, the patriot fleet, in response to an invitation by the island Greeks, crossed the Aegean. The morale of the Persian navy had been destroyed at Salamis. Their fleet refused battle, and was ignominiously beached under the shelter of a land army at Mycale. But the Greeks pursued, landed and successfully stormed the Persian camp.

The Persians had been defeated, but there was still work for the victors to do. They decided to combine with the island

states of the Asia Minor coast to liberate the other Asiatic Greeks. So after Mycale the fleet sailed to the Dardanelles and laid siege to Sestus. Now the Spartans, whose military strength and political ambitions were centred in mainland Greece, had little interest or enthusiasm for pursuing adventures across the sea. In consequence, the Spartan contingent sailed home, but the Athenians, late though the season was, remained with their Ionian allies and pressed the siege to its successful conclusion.

This was in effect a psychological turning point. In the following year Sparta sent out her king to take command of the patriot forces which were still operating in the Hellespont, but the overbearing character of Pausanias accentuated the friction between Sparta and the Asiatic Greeks and played straight into the hands of the more diplomatic Athenian admirals. In 477, when a successor to Pausanias was sent out by Sparta, the allies refused to accept his authority and a definite federation was formed between the Athenians and the Asiatic Greeks, of which Sparta was not invited to become a member.

The object of the Delian Confederation —as it was called, because of the shrine of Apollo at Delos was selected as its headquarters—was to drive the Persian from those strongholds which he still possessed on the shores of the Aegean, and to provide the sole possible guarantee for the political independence of the Greek states of the Anatolian seaboard, which was the undisputed control of the sea behind them by a Greek fleet. To achieve this object there were two necessary requirements, ships and money.

Now, one result of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Ionians, twenty years before, had been the destruction of the naval power of the Asiatic states. Many were in no position to supply naval contingents. It was clearly an equitable arrangement that those members who benefited by the activities of the Confederation, but were unable to supply ships, should contribute money instead. From the first, therefore, there were two classes of members, those who contributed contingents and those who contributed money. As time went on the tendency was for members of the first class to pass into the second.

It was found to be less troublesome to pay over a sum of money than to equip and man a naval contingent, and, of course, a homogeneous fleet was in practice a more efficient instrument than one which was made up of numerous small squadrons each provided by a different source. But the political result of the process of leaving Athens to supply the fleet for which the contributions of the other members paid, was to give Athens complete control of the fighting force of the Confederation. Controlling the fleet Athens was completely mistress of the situation and able easily to reduce recalcitrant members.

At the outset the naval forces of the Confederation were used for their ostensible purpose, the eviction of Persia from the Aegean seaboard. But in 469, when Naxos wished to retire from the Confederation, Athens at once took military action. Naxos was reduced; her ships were taken from her; she was assessed for tribute; a war indemnity was exacted; and five hundred Athenian settlers, 'cleruchs,' as they were called, were planted in the island. A similar fate befell Thasos, which attempted to leave the Confederation in 465.

These significant events betrayed the fact that the Confederation had ceased to be a purely voluntary association. In 454 the failure of an expedition to Egypt in which the Athenian fleet was destroyed, was made the reasonable excuse for transferring the chest of the Confederation from Delos to Athens, on the ground that Delos was no longer secure from Persia. Henceforward the chest, which was administered by a board of ten Athenian officials called Hellenotamiae, remained at Athens.

We have seen how the control of the fleet inevitably gave Athens a power which was greater than that of a leading member in an equal federation. Other circumstances also helped to exalt Athens at the expense of those who had originally been her allies. From the first the Confederation had had a commercial aspect. It included most of the states which had been prominent in maritime commerce. Of the important exceptions, Corinth was mainly interested in the western trade route to Italy; and, as for Aegina, Athens made use of the unrivalled navy with which the Confederation provided her to

eliminate completely (in 457) this dangerous island-enemy.

As a great commercial combination the Confederation performed a useful task in the suppression of piracy, and under the Athenian Empire the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed one of its brief spells of safe commercial intercourse. To the commercial aspect of the Confederation, again, appeal might be made to justify the force used in order to compel maritime states to join. Thus Carystus in Euboea was incorporated by force, and economic pressure was applied to many of the smaller maritime states.

For a commercial federation there were obvious advantages in the adoption of a common currency. The excellent quality of the silver of Laurium made Athenian money more generally acceptable than that of the other members of the Confederation. From the first this advantage was pressed by Athens, and local minting was discouraged. In the middle of the fifth century she became sufficiently powerful to take the further step and to suppress the local currencies. Athenian weights and measures also came to be adopted with Athenian coinage throughout the Empire.

In the matter of jurisdiction, too, there was a tendency towards unification which was all to the advantage of Athens. She was fortunate in possessing the Solonian code, regarded as the best civic code in Greece. The necessary provision for the regulation of the methods for settling commercial disputes was made in a series of agreements drawn up at different times between Athens and individual members of the Confederation. The tendency, as time went on, was to insist on the reference to the Athenian courts of an increasing number of commercial disputes, and practically, to the great indignation of her subjects, Athens came to monopolize the exercise of civil jurisdiction.

Even in criminal jurisdiction Athens similarly encroached upon the sovereign rights of the subordinate states. Eventually, according to the Athenian orator Antiphon, no one could be put to death in a subject state without the assent of Athens.

Just as the Spartans had maintained oligarchies sympathetic to their own form of government so Athens supported the democratic parties in her subject states. Nor, if opportunity offered, did Athens hesitate to impose the government which she desired.

We have seen that if a member of the Federation attempted to withdraw, it was treated as a rebel, was reduced by force and was punished. A usual sequel was the establishment of a cleruchy of Athenian citizens in its territory. The word 'cleruch' means the holder of a land lot. Land was confiscated in the territory of the state in question and was divided up into holdings, which were then allotted to Athenians. There is evidence that these cleruchs did not work the holdings, which were farmed for them by natives.

They were, in fact, a body of Athenians resident in the subject state to secure Athenian control over it—almost an Athenian garrison. The policy of planting cleruchies was greatly developed after 454. It served two useful ends from Pericles' point of view. On the one hand, it strengthened the hold of Athens on her Empire; on the other, it provided relief for the poorer Athenian citizens.

There remains the question of tribute. When the Delian Confederation was first formed, an estimate of the round sum necessary for the effective realization of its purposes had obviously to be made. It was calculated by Aristides at a figure which the allies then recognized to be a fair assessment of the needs of the moment. The contribution, 460 talents per annum, was very considerably less than what the contracting states had annually paid away as tribute to Persia. Athens was content with this round total, and the inscriptions show that it was only once exceeded. Further, we may notice that though the total contributions remained below a constant limit the size of the Empire increased; the burden upon individual states consequently tended to diminish.

The incidence of the total assessment upon individual states was readjusted every four years.

Athens and her tribute

When the amount of its quota was settled each state raised the money in the manner convenient to it, and paid it in to the Hellenotamiae at Athens at the festival of the Great Dionysia in April. The Hellenotamiae had to record the accounts in writing, and they were afterwards checked by the official state audi-

tors, the thirty Logistae. A sixtieth part was then paid into the treasury of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens and the rest was administered by the Hellenotamiae.

As the Confederation became more definitely an Empire and the voluntary financial contributions became more openly tribute, an increasing elaboration is noticeable in the official records. Finally in 443 the contributory states were grouped in five geographical districts for the purposes of assessment—Ionia, the Islands, the Hellespont, Thrace and Caria. In 440, however, the revolt of Samos seriously shook the Empire; and, though it was suppressed, Athens permanently lost many of her subject states.

The direct contributions from the fund administered by the Hellenotamiae to other than imperial purposes, beyond the small charge on the fund of three-fifths per cent. which was regularly paid to the goddess, that is to say to the Athenian state treasury, were negligible. At the same time, of course, the Empire indirectly financed the Athenian democracy, since it made it unnecessary for the Athenians themselves to bear that burden of taxation for the provision of armaments which democracies so fiercely resent. Hence the Athenian democracy, unlike others, was ardently imperialistic.

For individual Athenians, as the Pseudo-Xenophon remarks, the Empire created automatically a number of paid official posts. The concentration of the jurisdiction of the Empire in the Athenian courts made work for Athenian jurymen and brought money to Athens, thus benefiting indirectly a large number of citizens of all classes.

Athens derived other revenues from the Empire besides the tribute. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War Thucydides estimates the tribute at 600 talents. The actual tribute in the strict sense, as we have seen, was less than 460 talents. We do not know in detail whence the surplus came, but a large part of it was probably drawn from imposts upon commerce, tolls and duties of various kinds, which were exacted by Athens. For the Confederation in becoming an Empire had not lost its character of a commercial combination. The effective Athenian answer to Peloponnesian intervention at Potidaea was the Megarian Decree which immediately precipitated the Peloponnesian War. This excluded Megarian goods from all markets within the Athenian Empire.

In 432 broke out the Peloponnesian War. The occasions which immediately precipitated the specific crisis, the defensive alliance of Athens with Corcyra against Corinth, and the Corinthian intervention against Athens at Potidaea. The real causes lay deeper.

That commercial interests and the security of the food supply were factors in a complicated political situation is doubtless true, but the ultimate causes are probably political. The reasons why war had become inevitable were, first, the almost inevitable jealousy and rivalry between the Peloponnesian League and the Athenian Empire, and secondly the attitude of her subjects and of Greek public opinion in general towards the 'tyrant state.'

With regard to the first, rivalry between the power which had been the dominant factor in the Greek world before the Persian War, and the new and even more powerful combination of states which had come into existence immediately after the war, was inevitable. A natural suspicion and jealousy were accentuated by the fact that they stood for opposed political principles—Sparta for oligarchy, Athens for democracy.

Further, Athens had used her newfound power to suppress her commercial rivals in Greece; Aegina had been crushed completely, Corinthian commerce had been seriously injured and the Corinthian monopoly of the western trade route had been challenged. Athens had even attempted to establish a paramount influence over Boeotia and Central Greece. The attempt had been more than her strength warranted. The failure of the ill-judged Egyptian expedition had marked a turning point in her fortunes. In the Thirty Years Peace of 445 she had eventually to surrender her pretensions to a land empire in Greece and accept disadvantageous terms from the Peloponnesians.

As regards our second cause, the increasing discontent with the rule of Athens would in any case have brought about the collapse of the Athenian Empire, which was seething with revolt. Ultimately the real antagonism arose from the Greek passion for freedom and the unwillingness

of any Greek community to suffer the abrogation of its sovereign rights. The restriction of independence symbolized in such matters as the limitation of jurisdiction, the suppression of local mints, or the regulation of constitutions by Athenian civil commissioners, was very different from the freedom assured by the loose loyalties demanded from members of the Peloponnesian League.

As a whole, Greek public opinion was on the side of the allies. Athens was regarded, as a 'tyrant state' exploiting the governed for her own benefit. Hence the consistent sympathy of the conservatives in Athens itself with their fellows in the subject states, and their view that the Empire was a monument of injustice. To these the only answer of Pericles was 'let us look at the facts and not indulge in heroics. We have an empire; it may have been unjust to acquire it, but the security of Athens now depends on its retention.'

The Peloponnesian War was decided in 405 when Lysander won the battle of Aegospotami, closed the Dardanelles to Athens and cut off her food supply. The result was the destruction of the Athenian Empire. But the ideal of the autonomy of Greek states, which had supplied the moral strength of the opponents of Athens, was not realized. Sparta but stepped into her rival's shoes. But where Athens had not succeeded, Sparta more egregiously failed. At best she succeeded in retarding the disintegration of the Greek world, which gradually pursued its course through the fourth century, until the rise of Macedon reunited it upon a new basis.

The policy of Sparta was that of the bully. For the control of states beyond the immediate reach of her infantry she was less powerful than Athens had been. She had never been and could never become a naval power. In consequence the Greek command of the sea was no longer effectual. Piracy again played havoc with maritime commerce and the Greek states of Asia inevitably fell back into Persian control. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Greece that the vigorous Persia of Darius and Xerxes was no longer in existence, and that their feebler and more embarrassed successors were content with diplomatic control. For the changed relations of Greece and Persia are clearly shown in the so-called Peace of Antalcidas, or King's Peace, of 387, when the King of Kings dictated the terms of settlement between the states of Greece.

Sparta, we have said, attempted to rule as a bully. Lysander had initiated the policy of putting the government of subordinate states into the hands of very narrow oligarchies, 'decarchies' or committees of ten, which were dependent upon Spartan support. Sparta also appointed Spartan officials, 'harmosts,' to rule her subject states. Interference with political liberty, more undisguised and more drastic than that of which Athens had been guilty, everywhere bred animosity and hatred. These feelings were accentuated by the overbearing behavior of individual Spartans in office.

Sparta herself had suffered from the change in her circumstances. Her institutions, as we have seen, were of a peculiarly specialized kind and designed to maintain artificially a primitive form of military society. The new conditions and the larger stage upon which Sparta was now called to play the leading rôle were fatal to the maintenance of the system. The peculiar virtues of the Spartan system and the Spartan character were not suited to conditions very different from those under which they had been cultivated.

Meantime, what was the situation in the Greek world? The great war, it is true, had led some idealists to dream dreams of a united Hellas but, in fact, war then, as now, did not end, but rather embittered political animosities. The Greek states did not hate each other less because they were exhausted; and during the fourth century they frittered away what little remained of their financial and military resources upon continuous wars, which dragged on indecisively. Until 371, thanks to the continued superiority of her army to that of any other individual state, Sparta retained her leading position against an enfeebled Greek world which was united only in its animosity against her. In 371 the Spartan army was defeated in the open field by Epaminondas at Leuctra, and with this defeat the premier place in the Greek world passed to the victor, Thebes.

Thebes was still less politically prepared for such a task. From Thebes it was in turn to pass to the Phocian robbers who seized the temple treasures of Delphi

and, as long as the money held out, were able to support a mercenary army sufficiently large to terrorize Greece. A significant descent this in culture. The successors of Athens contributed no positive idea to the problems of imperialism. The policy of Epaminondas, the Theban leader, had one main object—to crush Sparta for good. In this he was successful. He created in the Peloponnese new independent states in Messenia and Arcadia to hold Sparta permanently in check.

In thus smashing the Peloponnesian League, he extended to the Peloponnese that process of disintegration into quarrelsome but powerless small units which had become symptomatic of the rest of Greece.

One other imperial experiment should perhaps be mentioned, that of Dionysius I in Sicily (405-367). Here a very remarkable man of dauntless courage, indefatigable industry and great powers of organization created an empire which embraced the Greek part of Sicily and the southern extremity of Italy. The opportunity and the justification arose from a national emergency, the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily. Ruthless and arbitrary methods enabled Dionysius to concentrate sufficient power into his own able hands to save the island from Punic domination. The exigencies of an immediate crisis made autocratic methods inevitable, and enormous necessary expenditure involved hand-to-mouth finance and rigorous exactions from his subjects. When Dionysius died the immediate urgency of the Carthaginian peril had been postponed, thanks to his efforts. His empire, however, had no deeper foundation than this national peril, which was now averted, and the ability and determination of the ruler who was now removed by death. His weaker son was unable to maintain successfully a tyranny, the real justification for the existence of which appeared to have passed.

The Athenian Empire is, then, the most important and least unsuccessful attempt which was made by the Greeks, before the rise of Macedon, to construct a political unit upon a more effectual scale than that of the city. The Athenian Empire had performed two services. First, it did in fact complete the Persian War by asserting a Greek mastery of the Aegean, and its naval strength safeguarded the liberties of the Anatolian Greeks from Persian suzerainty, liberties which they inevitably lost when the Empire fell. Secondly, it put down piracy and made the seas safe for commerce.

But the Athenian Empire was short-lived, and was bound soon to collapse because of the offence which its very existence gave to Greek political ideals. The most difficult and delicate of all imperial problems are likely to arise where men attempt to rule others of the same civilization as themselves. For such an empire to endure there must be give and take. Just as in the smaller state, government must be for the benefit of the ruled, not for the selfish benefit of the ruler; and the authority of the ruler must be based upon common consent.

Blindness to Essential Facts

That in the case of the Athenian Empire both sides failed to grasp these essentials was partly due to the fact that Greek practical politics and Greek political thought were circumscribed by the horizon of the small city state. A larger loyalty was well nigh inconceivable to the Greek, and for a subject state willingly and gladly to surrender the completeness of its individual and particular sovereign rights for the proud membership of a larger political entity would have seemed to him a strange, fantastic notion.

On the other hand Athens showed no perception that the political ideals of the state on a small scale must in some way be realized in the state on a large scale if it was to endure. That a city community existed for the mutual and collective well-being of its citizens, and that it was at once the duty and privilege of these to take an active part in, and contribute their individual share to, the corporate life was recognized. But the ideas of making subjects partners, or of conceiving the empire as an organic unity in the life of which they, as well as the Athenians, must be equal members, were quite foreign to Athenian imperialism.

I know of but one hint of such a thought. It occurs in a comedy of Aristophanes, in which the women are telling the men how they would put the world to rights if they had the vote:

First take the fleece and wash it, and get the burrs out, and so be rid of useless members of the state. Then card

the wool into one big basket of good will, mixing in 'metics' and friendly foreigners and everyone useful to the state, and mix them all in, including the subject states, and make one ball, ready for spinning.

The natural instinct of states to which circumstance has given the control over other peoples is to attempt to rule them with the high hand of disciplinary authority. Where the subjects are of the same race and civilization, the difficulty of maintaining the permanence of such a relation will be obvious. Still more difficult was it in the case of Greeks ruling Greeks, owing to the passionate love of political freedom that had become part of the Greek character. Further, we may notice that no political machinery existed which could be so adapted as to give the subjects a real membership of the state and a share in its government. The democracy of city states was government directly by the people, by the citizens, that is to say, who were on the spot to record their votes. On the small scale of the city the need for the delegation of political authority had not arisen. There was no representative system and therefore no practical machinery in existence by the adaptation of which a free state upon a larger scale than that of the city could be made to function.

Success Where Athens Failed

In conclusion we may notice that if Athens did not perceive the nature of the sole terms upon which a great empire can be built to endure, only two other peoples, the Roman and the British, have succeeded where she failed. For them, too, the lesson was not easy to learn, and each was taught by bitter experience. It needed the Social War of 90 B.C. to teach the Romans that the Italians must be incorporated as citizens in the Roman state, and there was but one man of the succeeding generation, Julius Caesar, who perceived the full import of the lesson. For Julius Caesar was unique among his contemporaries in foreseeing a time when not merely Italians but provincials too must become citizens, not subjects, of a great empire. A not dissimilar lesson was learned by Britain mainly as the result of the loss of the American colonies.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE VI

B.C.	*Rome and the West*
357	Dionysius expelled from Syracuse.
356	Five years' war between Rome and Etruscans begins.
354	Roman alliance with the Samnites.
351	Forty years' truce with Etruscans.
350	Gallic war with Rome.
348	Second (?) Treaty of Rome with Carthage.
346	Dionysius returns to Syracuse.
344	Timoleon arrives in Sicily. Battle of Hadranum.
343–1	First Roman-Samnite War.
341	Peace and alliance with Samnites.
340	Beginning of the Great Latin War.
339	Timoleon defeats Carthaginians. Publilian Laws confirm powers of Romans.
338	Dissolution of the Latin League. Death of Archidamus in Italy.
337	Death of Timoleon.
334	Alexander the Molossian in Italy.
329	Death of Alexander the Molossian.
327	Second or Great Samnite War begins (to 304).
321	Samnites trap Roman army at Caudine Forks. Rome renounces the capitulation; war rages doubtfully for seven years.
317	Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse.
314	Tide begins to set against Samnites.
311	Etruscans join Samnites.
310	Agathocles, defeated in Sicily, invades Africa.
309	Roman successes against Samnites and Etruscans.
307	Agathocles returns to Sicily.
306	Treaties of Rome with Carthage and Rhodes.
305	Capture of Bovianum (Samnite capital).
304	Samnites accept an honorable peace.
299	Designs of Agathocles on S. Italy.
298	Third Samnite (and Etruscan) War (to 290).
294	Samnite war; Etruscans withdraw.
290	Treaty of peace between Rome and Samnites.
287	Hortensian Law at Rome finally confirms the legislative powers of the Plebeian Assembly.
285	War with Gauls and Etruscans.
284	Roman disaster at Arretium.
283	Roman victory over Boii at Lake Vadimo.
282	Peace with Boii for forty-five years. Breach between Rome and Tarentum.
281	War declared with Tarentum.
280	Pyrrhus in S. Italy.

B.C.	*Greece and the East*
358	Philip II usurps Macedonian crown.
357	Philip captures Amphipolis.
356	Phocians seize Delphi. Sacred War begins.
355	Philip takes Potidæa. Birth of Alexander.
354	End of Social War.
351	*Persia:* Revolt of Phœnicia and Cyprus.
349	Athens and Olynthus allied.
348	Capture of Olynthus by Philip. Death of Plato.
346	Peace and Philocrates.
345	*Persia:* Artaxerxes recovers Egypt.
342	Conquest of Thrace by Philip. Naval reconstruction at Athens.
339	Sacred War against Amphissa.
338	Chæronea. Congress of Corinth names Philip General. *Persia:* Death of Artaxerxes Ochus; Arses the usurper.
336	Assassination of Philip.
335	Alexander destroys Thebes.
334	Alexander invades Persia.
333	Battle of Issus; route of Darius.
332	Siege and capture of Tyre.
331	Alexandria founded. Persian campaign. Battle of Gaugamela. Fall of Susa.
330	Alexander at Ecbatana. Darius killed.
329	Alexander conquers Arachosia.
327	Alexander marries Roxana.
326	Invasion of the Punjab and defeat of Porus.
325	Capture of Multan. Voyage of Nearchus.
323	Death of Alexander at Babylon (June). Deaths of Demosthenes and Aristotle. *India:* Chandragupta (Sandracottys) expels the Macedonians.
321	Death of Perdiccas. Antipater (Macedon) becomes Imperial Regent.
318	Polysperchon succeeds Antipater as Regent.
317	Cassander, son of Antipater, raises war against Polysperchon.
315	Coalition against Antigonus. Five years' war.
311	The Diadochi come to terms; war suspended.
310	War renewed between Ptolemy and Antigonus.
307	Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens.
306	Demetrius defeats Ptolemy's fleet off Cyprus. Epicurus and Zeno (Stoic) at Athens.
305	Demetrius attacks Rhodes. *India:* Unsuccessful invasion by Seleucus.
301	Antigonus killed at Battle of Ipsus.
298	Bindusara succeeds Chandragupta.
297	Death of Cassander.
294	Demetrius king of Macedon.
287	Demetrius expelled from Macedon by Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, who then expels Pyrrhus.
286	Demetrius gives himself up to Seleucus.
285	Ptolemy II Philadelphus joint king of Egypt.
283	Deaths of Ptolemy I and Demetrius.
281	Seleucus overthrows Lysimachus.
280	Ptolemy Ceraunus murders Seleucus, and seizes the Macedonian crown. Achæan League inaugurated.

THE HELLENISTIC AGE: 360—280 B. C.

For a hundred years since the rise of Pericles to power at Athens, about 460, the struggle between Europe and Asia had been in abeyance, when Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) died (359 B.C.). Throughout that period the great empire organized by Darius the Great was tending slowly but surely to disruption. But Hellas was no nearer to unity than she had been a century before.

In the west a great Hellenic power had arisen, but its might depended wholly on the genius of the man who had created it, Dionysius of Syracuse, and it hardly outlived his death. Hellenism was to permeate the world, not to conquer it.

Yet before another generation had passed, Europe was hurling herself upon Asia under the leadership of a power which posed at least as the champion of Hellenism, though itself, in the eyes of Hellas, scarcely half Hellenic. It shattered the old Persian Empire forever. It carried Hellenism into the heart of Orientalism. It created a new empire vast beyond all previous vision, and it changed the political order of the world.

This amazing achievement was the work of two men, Philip of Macedon and the son by whom his fame has been eclipsed, Alexander the Great.

Macedon lay beyond the northern border of Thessaly—the limit of continental Hellas. The Thracians, east of the Chalcidian promontories and the river Strymon, and the Illyrians of the western highlands, ranked definitely as barbarians, not Hellenes. The Macedonians proper, though of Hellenic stock, were unacknowledged; but their dynasty, the antiquity of which was unquestionable, claimed Heraclid descent, and had been recognized as legitimate competitors in the pan-Hellenic Games. Macedonia's political development had hardly passed out of the tribal stage; her organization remained primitive, though her territory was far greater than that of any Hellenic state; but her people provided admirable material for a great military organizer.

Awaiting the Man of Destiny

Such an organizer had not hitherto appeared; nor had Macedon been admitted to the comity of Hellas.

Now in 368 when Thebes was advancing to the hegemony of Greece, a disputed succession and northern frontier troubles in Macedonia had enabled the rising power to force on Macedon an alliance, guaranteed by the presence in Thebes, actually though not nominally as hostages, of several youthful members of the Macedonian nobility, including Philip (382-336), the younger brother of the young king Perdiccas. For three or four years the boy dwelt in Thebes, learning everything that was to be learned of statecraft and military craft in the city of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. Then he was allowed to return to his own country.

Four years later (359), Perdiccas was slain in battle with the Pæonians, leaving a child, Amyntas, on the throne, with his uncle Philip, who was then twenty-three, as guardian or regent. The hour and the man had arrived.

Philip was endowed by nature with a frame of iron, a clear head, a cool and calculating brain, boundless ambition, dauntless resolution and—in full measure—those moral virtues which can always reconcile themselves to the dictates of expediency. Macedon was a minor power; she should be the greatest power in Hellas. Hellas had no leader, nor any state competent to lead her; Macedon should be that state. And then—Persia should go down before Hellas. Stage by stage Philip marched toward his goal; the first stage being the making of Macedon.

Pretenders to the throne which he had not yet seized himself had to be removed; a matter easily effected by cajoling their foreign supporters, including Athens, with illusory promises. Next, the Illyrians and Pæonians were to be dealt with; Philip spent the winter in

MACEDONIAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN EUROPE BEFORE ALEXANDER

It was by military conquest that Philip incorporated Illyria, Pæonia, Thrace and, last, Chalcidice in the kingdom of Macedonia. Diplomacy attached Epirus and Thessaly to his cause, and by his victory at Chæronea he secured the hegemony of Hellas. After Philip's death Alexander crushed all Hellenic opposition and crossing the Hellespont proceeded with the conquest of Asia Minor.

training a Macedonian force, with which next year he shattered both in pitched battles. The second victory gave him control of the Illyrian passes.

Stages in Philip's Policy

MONEY was the next necessity, for Macedonia was poor, her commerce being insignificant. But on the Thracian border there were unexploited mines. Again mainly by diplomatic cajolery, Philip possessed himself of those mines, from which he derived a larger revenue than any Greek state could boast; though it involved the absorption of Amphipolis in defiance of Athenian resentment. Athens was defeated simply by his superior skill in the game of diplomatic trickery. This stage of his work he completed by quietly deposing his infant nephew and ward (who afterwards married one of his daughters) and assuming the crown; and by organizing what might be called standing territorial regiments from his Illyrian highlanders.

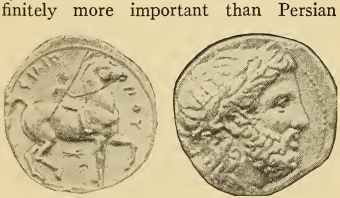
The next stage was opened by an experimental intervention in the "sacred war" of Phocis, by way of asserting his Hellenic position. Phocis, hitherto a somewhat insignificant state, but always jealous of her powerful neighbor Thebes, had suddenly asserted and enforced a traditional but unrecognized claim to Delphi and the guardianship of its shrine. This claim made by Phocis was opposed by Thebes and by the Thessalians, but supported by Athens and Sparta, while her enemies charged her with sacrilege for turning to her own use the treasures of Apollo. Phocis bought over the powerful but unpopular tyrant of the

Thessalian state of Pheræ; the rest of Thessaly appealed to Philip, who marched against Pheræ with a small force, as the champion of the outraged deity.

The Phocians marched to aid their ally in superior force, defeated Philip, and compelled him to withdraw.

Philip did not wish to enslave Hellas even to such an extent as the democratic imperialists of Athens or the Lacedæmonians at the height of their power. But he did want in the first place to make his own kingdom an irresistible power; and whereas it had hitherto stood practically outside Hellas, he was determined that it should now be recognized not only as an integral part of Hellas, but as its leader and accepted champion. But it was only as the acknowledged head of Hellas that he could lead her to the great adventure to which not Athens nor Sparta nor Thebes was capable of leading her—the overthrow of Persia. To that end he must have the coöperation of Hellas, but no rivals.

Above all, he wanted the willing cooperation of Athens and her fleet; and it would have been sound policy for Athens to have accepted the rôle of his honored coadjutor. Unfortunately, there was in Athens a patriot party which dreamed impossibly of a Periclean revival and, seeing that its own aspirations were incompatible with Philip's, made a point of thwarting him, and convinced itself that his concealed aim was the ruin of Athens—actually the last thing he desired. This party was led by an orator of extraordinary power, Demosthenes, in whose eyes the Macedonian menace was infinitely more important than Persian policy, and his impassioned rhetoric has done much to discredit very unduly the character and aims of the great Macedonian, whose actual treatment of Athens was always more than generous.



COIN OF AN EMPIRE BUILDER

Born 382 B.C., Philip II usurped the crown of Macedon in 359 and devoted his genius to the creation of a Macedonian army which should establish his supremacy in Greece and shatter the power of Persia. He was assassinated in 336 B.C.

British Museum

Philip now rapidly effected a partial conquest of Thrace; his next objective was the Chalcidian peninsula. In 348 he captured Olynthus, Athens being prevented from effectively interfering by the revolt of Eubœa.

Philip Secures Hellenic Status

PEACE negotiations were then opened between Athens and Philip. When the negotiations broke down Philip went on his way without her, suppressed Phocis, and became not only a member but president of the Amphictyonic Council. His Hellenic status was thus established. Athens was reduced to a sulky acquiescence (346).

The incorporation of a loyal Thrace with his own kingdom was a necessary precaution. Internal dissensions in that region gave him his chance in 342. In 341 Thrace became a part of the Macedonian kingdom. Within Hellas the Thessalian league had named him its president, and on the west of Thessaly his influence was supreme in the almost barbarian kingdom of Epirus, where he had established on the throne the brother of his Epirote wife Olympias.

Meanwhile, however, Demosthenes had been exerting his powers to the utmost to rouse animosity against him, not in Athens only, and in Athens against all politicians who inclined to the Macedonian alliance. The fever of suspicion was generally rife. In 340, Philip was reluctantly goaded into war.

Athens could not be threatened by sea, but her sea power could not work effective injury to Macedon, as to her Peloponnesian foes in the days of Pericles; on the other hand, against Macedon in alliance with Thebes, Attica was by land entirely defenseless. Philip was in no haste to strike; but the development of a sacred war on Amphissa, the ally of Thebes, by the Amphictyonic Council which called for Philip's support, brought him down to Bœotia with an army in 338, and simultaneously threw Thebes into the arms of Athens. The result was that he met the combined armies on

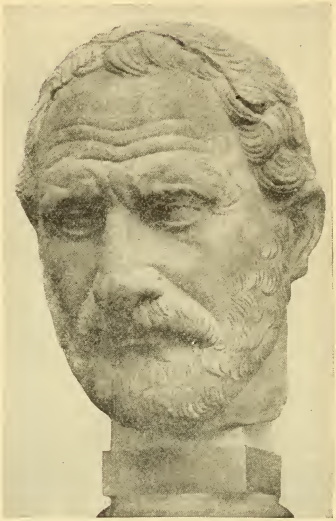
the field of Chæronea and put them completely to rout, the picked troops of Thebes alone remaining on the ground and fighting to the last.

Yet the magnanimity of the victor shows how groundless were the denunciations of Demosthenes. Chæronea gave the hegemony of Hellas to Macedon as indisputably as Leuctra had given it to Thebes. The defeated states were hardly penalized.

At last the way was clear. Philip summoned a pan-Hellenic congress at Corinth; all the states except the still sulky Sparta were represented. At the congress in 337 he declared his great project—the pan-Hellenic war, which had been impracticable for a divided Hellas, upon the Asiatic empire which had sought and would still seek to enslave Hellenes. The congress assented—it could hardly do otherwise—and settled upon ways and means with no great enthusiasm.

As a military organizer, as a strategist, as a commander in the field, Greece had never produced the superior of Philip, unless it were his unconscious master Epaminondas. As a matter of course he was made captain-general of the Hellenic forces with practically unlimited powers. For twelve months after the congress he was engaged in organization. In the spring of 336 he dispatched the man whom he called his only general, Parmenio, to secure the passage of his armies into the northwestern corner of Asia Minor; in the summer he was on the very point of following with his main force when he was struck down by the hand of an assassin.

To the victor of Chæronea unwilling Hellas had bowed one knee perforce. Philip fell when he was in the plentitude of his powers, but no more than forty-six years old. His heir was a lad of twenty, who no doubt had shown his mettle at Chæronea; but everywhere Philip had subjects, dependents or positive enemies who were ready enough to rise up against an untried youth whose title even to his own throne it was possible to dispute. Had there been even the briefest delay Alexander would have found himself in the center of a general conflagration.



PERFERVID ATHENIAN PATRIOT

This portrait bust of the great Athenian orator and statesman Demosthenes (c. 385-322 B.C.) gives a clear impression of the dynamic personality which made him so formidable an obstacle in the way of Macedonian expansion.
Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

But the delay was not given. Before his enemies could combine, though not before they were in open revolt, he had swung his Macedonians down to the Thessalian border, outflanked the pass of Tempe, carved a road through the mountains, and swept into the plain. Thessaly submitted without a blow. Athens made repentant overtures which were accepted without demur. The League made haste to appoint him captain-general in succession to his father, but meanwhile the Illyrians were gathering to attack Macedonia. For a few weeks Alexander vanished in the Illyrian mountains. The rumor spread that he had been slain in Thrace; an eye-witness of his fall was produced. Thebes gave the lead in revolting; half Hellas was preparing to follow. But by movements of unparalleled audacity and swiftness Alexander and his Macedonians had in fact shattered

the Illyrians, and even while Thebes still believed that he was dead, he appeared at her gates and summoned her to surrender. A premature and unauthorized attack led to a furious struggle, and the city suffered the common fate of cities carried by storm. But the destruction of Thebes was the work of her age-long foes in Locris and Bœotia far more than of the Macedonians.

The smiting of Thebes sufficed. Every one else made prompt submission, and Alexander exacted no penalties. Fear, however, was so thoroughly established that in the next year, 334, Alexander could confidently turn his back on Europe, and was over the Hellespont with the army of conquest. The great adventure of his adventurous career had begun.

The attack was fully expected in Persia. But the Great King's government had sunk back to its normal ineptitude under the amiable but futile Darius III Codomannus, who had secured the succession only in 336 and was, quite unfitted to save the empire.

Opening of the Persian Campaign

MONEY had been sent to Greece; but the defense of the west was left to the western satraps. Alexander met and routed their army on the river Granicus. The battle in its result had the effect of leaving Asia Minor open to conquest.

The mastery of Syria and Phœnicia was the next step. Having made Asia Minor sufficiently secure, Alexander struck through the "Cilician gates," the passage of the Taurus barrier, and spent some months in reducing Cilicia. Then he moved south. Meanwhile Darius had taken the field in person with a vast army, and was on the borders of Cilicia expecting his attack. At Issus (332) the Persian was decisively defeated and fled for his life behind the shelter of the river Euphrates.

INSTEAD of immediate pursuit Alexander went forward with the conquest he had immediately in view. When Tyre was won the whole navy of Persia was in his hands. Egypt in turn welcomed him as a deliverer. Not until 331, however, did he turn to complete the overthrow of Persia.

The battle of Gaugamela, some miles from the old Nineveh, was overwhelmingly decisive. Though again Darius escaped from the field with his life, for the little that remained of it he was no better than a fugitive hunted from one place to another.

The conqueror marched on to Babylon, which opened its gates to him. But Persia and Media, whence the empire of Cyrus had arisen, were still unsubdued, and Darius was still at large in his ancestral lands. In a winter campaign (331-30) Alexander captured Persepolis and Pasargadæ, the first home of the great Cyrus, together with vast treasures, including spoils which Xerxes had carried off from Athens and which were now by this happy stroke restored to her.

Even now he gave Darius and the Persian loyalists time to offer submission before advancing on Ecbatana. But they were determined to offer a final resistance. When the blow could no longer be delayed, he struck with his wonted swiftness; but when he reached Ecbatana, the heart of Darius had failed him, and he was already in full flight. Alexander was soon in hot pursuit; but before he could overtake the fugitive, treachery was at work, and the fallen monarch was murdered by Bessus, satrap of Bactria (July, 330).

THE Macedonian, or as he himself would have said the Hellene, had taken the place so long held by the Persian. Politically he followed, though with a difference, the precedents established by the great Cyrus and Darius; he conquered not to enslave but to incorporate and develop; never penalizing loyalty to his defeated antagonist, however sternly he might deal with Hellenic renegades. His foundation of Alexandria in Egypt was only the most distinguished example of a definite and statesmanlike policy, and his selection of its site as the world's central mart was in itself a mark of genius.

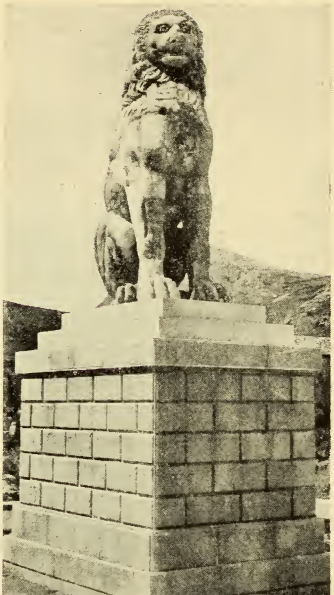
Persia was won, but the eastern provinces or—what came to the same thing—their satraps, who had conspired to murder Darius, were in revolt. Their intention had been to set Bessus, who called himself Artaxerxes, in the place of their victim. Alexander started on his far eastern campaigns with the double

object of establishing his sway over the whole empire and avenging the murder of his royal predecessor. On his march, which was in the nature of an armed exploration in regions of which little was known, there were risky adventures, astonishing marching feats, and brilliant exploits; but there was no foe who could make a stand against his army. He penetrated Afghanistan, struck north through the Hindu Kush into Turkistan, captured Bessus, who died the death of an oriental traitor (crucifixion, preceded by mutilation), and thrust beyond the bounds of the empire across the Oxus (Amu Daria) to Samarkand. On the way new Alexandrias arose, meant to be the centers of a new civilization; Herat, Kandahar and Kabul are among the probable sites.

There still remained unvisited and unsubdued one dim region, "India" over which the Achæmenids from Darius I to Darius III had claimed sovereignty; to which the conqueror now turned (327). Afghanistan was already secured, and the winter was passed in subjugating the hill tribes of what we know as the Northwest Frontier. The war-worn veterans fought their way through the unexplored passes till in the spring of 326 they came down to the Indus, crossed it, and routed the hosts of the confederate princes of the Punjab in the great battle of Hydaspes —the river Jhelum as it is called today. Not until the battle had been lost beyond hope of redemption did Porus, the indomitable chief of the confederacy, surrender himself to Alexander, who treated him with well-deserved royal honors, appointing him sub-king of the major part of the Punjab, under the ægis of himself, who was the Great King.

But the Punjab was to be the limit of Alexander's conquest; very much against his own will. For when the advancing army reached the Hyphasis (the Beas), which flows into the Sutlej, the last of the Five Rivers that give its name to the Punjab, not even its hero Alexander could persuade it to move a step farther. He had no choice but to turn back.

But Alexander was an explorer at heart; and before returning he had already resolved on an expedition down the Indus,



THE LION OF CHÆRONEA

On August 2, 338 B.C., Philip of Macedon routed the combined armies of Thebes and Athens at Chæronea in Bœotia and destroyed the independence of Greece. This colossal lion, restored in 1902, marks the burial place of the Theban dead.

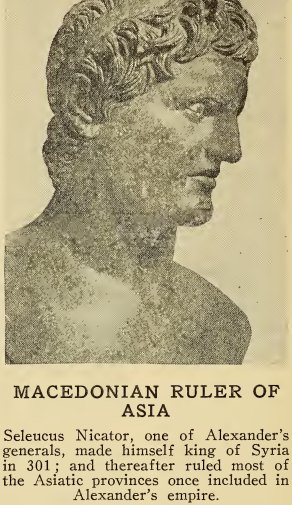
Photo, E.N.A.

to be followed up by the navigation of the Indian ocean—the latter task to be entrusted to Nearchus.

When the Indus mouth was reached, the fleet of Nearchus was fitted out and he was dispatched on the voyage of exploration westwards. The main army made its way back to Afghanistan by the Bolan pass; the rest of the force, led by the king, plunged into the almost uninhabited Gedrosia, or southern Baluchistan, and struggled through in little more than half its original strength, after cruel sufferings which the king shared with his soldiers.

This expedition was in 325. Meanwhile satraps and officials, Macedonian and Persian, had taken advantage of his absence to misuse their powers. On all such his hand now fell with stern justice, even-handed and unsparing. He was even now planning maritime adventures and expansion on the newly discovered ocean, and the annexation of Arabia over which the Persian conquest had never extended; and early in 323 the preparations were well advanced. He had made Babylon his headquarters, when in June a fever seized him. Within a fortnight he was dead, leaving no man capable of building the structure he had designed on the foundations he had laid.

The fatal fact in the situation brought about by Alexander's sudden death was that there was no heir with an indisputable title to the succession, though a child by Roxana a Scythian prince's daughter whom he had taken to wife, was expected, and there was a feeble son of the great Philip, Alexander's half-brother, known to the world as Philip Arrhidæus.



MACEDONIAN RULER OF ASIA

Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's generals, made himself king of Syria in 301; and thereafter ruled most of the Asiatic provinces once included in Alexander's empire.

From Delbrück, "Antike Porträts"

A council of the generals decided to recognize Philip, with whom Roxana's son, if (as actually happened) a son should be born, was to be associated. They were to be under the guardianship of Perdiccas, a general high in Alexander's confidence, whom the dead king may have intended to designate as his heir. In the meantime the empire was to be distributed among the leading Macedonians in governorships overriding the satrapies. Antipater was to retain the regency of Macedonia and Greece which Alexander had left in his charge eleven years ago; Egypt was to go to Ptolemy, the satrapy of Babylon to Seleucus, who already held it, Thrace and part of Asia Minor to Lysimachus, most of western Asia to Antigonus, and the rest to Leonnatus and Eumenes; while the guardianship of Philip and of the baby Alexander, together with an independent military command, placed Perdiccas in a position at least of equality with the rest.

This, or something like this, was the only possible way of dealing with an unprecedented situation. It could not last because it provided no dominant central authority, the nearest thing to such an authority being that of Perdiccas.

The half century following Alexander's death in 323 rings with the clash of strife between the Diadochi, the "Successors," Macedonians who were seeking to obtain the lion's share in the partition of the vast dominion, and setting up dynasties of their own, each battling to overshadow his neighbor's power. Only by 280 (to sum up in anticipation) was something like a final settlement emerging, with the house of Seleucus (who was murdered in that year) established in Syria, Babylonia and part of Asia Minor, the Ptolemies reigning in Egypt, and the house of Antigonus not yet finally secured in their positions as kings of Macedon and sovereigns over Greece. Native or minor Macedonian dynasties were in the meantime shaping kingdoms over the greater part of Anatolia.

Of the generals named in the first partition, Ptolemy, Lysimachus and Seleucus were active almost through the whole period, dying respectively in 283, 281 and 280; Antipater and Antigonus, older men, died in 319 and 301; all five, however, at about eighty years of age. The two last were represented after their deaths by their sons Cassander and

Demetrius Poliorcetes the "Besieger"; the deaths of Cassander's three sons gave Macedon to their Antigonid rival.

While Alexander was conquering Asia, Hellas had remained for the most part quiescent, suffering under a sense of subjection (though its liberties were not touched in fact), because it knew that it enjoyed those liberties only by grace of the Macedonian. The Spartan king Agis did indeed try to incite a war of liberation, but he found no support, even from Demosthenes, outside the Peloponnese, and was easily suppressed by the regent Antipater.

An immediate change, however, was wrought by the death of Alexander. In Athens the patriot party at once became dominant, and assumed that rôle of leader in a war of liberation in which Agis had failed. This time it was the Peloponnesians who held aloof. The aged Antipater came down to suppress Athens and her allies in Thessaly, but was at first defeated; later, however, the resistance collapsed, and Antipater was able to dictate his own terms to the allies, not as a league but individually.

BESIEGER OF CITIES

Son of Antigonus who became king of Asia on Alexander's death, Demetrius gained his surname, Poliorcetes (the Besieger), from the machines constructed by him to break down the defense of Rhodes in 304 B.C. He died in 283 B.C.
From G. F. Hill, "Select Greek Coins"

Tragic End of Demosthenes

THE Athenian democracy was restricted by a narrow franchise, a Macedonian garrison was placed in the port of Munychia, and the surrender of Demosthenes was demanded. The great orator, the life-long foe of Macedon, took sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calaurea, where he swallowed poison, so escaping the vengeance of his enemies.

He was the incarnation of that attitude of the Greek mind which made the unification of Hellas impossible, because no Greek state was willing, except in extreme emergency, to accept the the control of a common federal authority or the hegemony of any state other than itself.

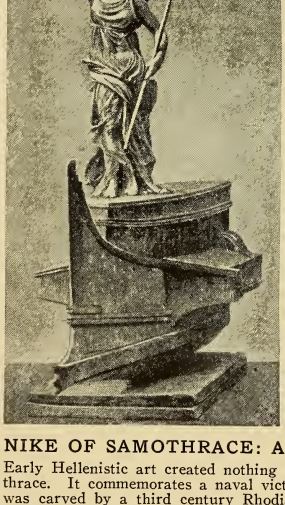
Little more than a year had passed since the death of Alexander, when the incompatible ambitions of the generals were already manifesting themselves. The obvious intention of Perdiccas, as guardian of the feeble-minded Philip and the baby Alexander, and ally of the old queen Olympias and the young queen Roxana, to secure the supreme authority for himself, led four of the other Diadochi—Antipater, Antigonus, Ptolemy and Seleucus—to form a league against him. In 321 Perdiccas marched against Ptolemy in Egypt, but was assassinated. Antipater was nominated regent, but the old man died in 318, his death causing a fresh complication, since he named as his successor not his own aspiring son Cassander, but another old general, Polysperchon; between whom and Cassander there was war, with Macedon and Greece as a battle-ground. While Seleucus was busying himself in the far eastern provinces, more intent on carrying out Alexander's policy than on fighting for Alexander's crown, Antigonus was making himself more and more supreme in western Asia.

Dissensions Among the Diadochi

BY 316, Cassander was dominant in Europe. In the course of this struggle another notable Athenian, Phocion, ended a long and honorable but not a successful career. A man of

ability, but not of brilliant talents, he was one of those whose character at once compels respect and admiration and forbids popularity. At the age of eighty-five he was condemned to death for treason after the travesty of a trial by his political enemies, and drank his hemlock with the serenity of Socrates. Characteristically, the Athenians raised a statue to his memory.

From 315 to 307, war was going on with little intermission between Antigonus, now the most powerful of the Diadochi, and his rivals. In 307 his son Demetrius, who had not yet earned his nickname (Poliorcetes), entered the field in his support, invading Greece, which was in the hands of Cassander and his ally Ptolemy, in the character of liberator. Political murders had left no one with any pretense to a title to the imperial throne. In 306, Antigonus assumed for himself and Demetrius the title of king, an example promptly followed by Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Cassander and Seleucus. Demetrius set about the siege of Rhodes where his novel but unsuccessful operations won him his name of Poliorcetes. The war went on with varying fortunes, till in 301 the old Antigonus was slain at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, and a fresh



NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE: AN EARLY HELLENISTIC MASTERPIECE

Early Hellenistic art created nothing more beautiful than this Victory statue found in Samothrace. It commemorates a naval victory—possibly of Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia—and was carved by a third century Rhodian sculptor in imitation of the earlier statue set up by Demetrius Poliorcetes. The goddess Nike stands half flying on the prow of a warship; as shown in the reconstruction (left) she probably bore a wreath in her right hand and a standard in her left.

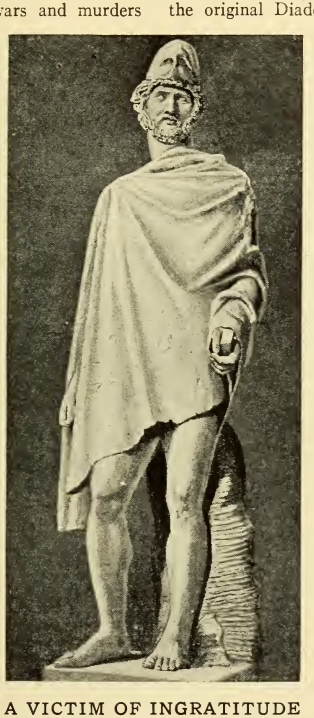
Left, after Falize and Cordonnier; right, the Louvre

compromise was reached, under which Asia was practically divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, while Demetrius and Cassander were left to fight out their rivalry in Europe.

Still the welter of wars and murders continued. Cassander died; his eldest son, known as Philip IV, died; the two younger sons disputed the succession, and the younger Alexander, called in to his aid a new ally, Pyrrhus (318-272), the famous king of Epirus, whose grandfather had been the brother of Olympias. Meanwhile Demetrius had attacked Athens, once his ally, then the ally of Cassander, and captured the city when it had been starved out at last after a long siege. He, also, went ostensibly to the aid of Alexander, between whom and his brother Pyrrhus had already divided Macedon; but Demetrius assassinated his ally and seized the throne himself (294).

"The Besieger," however, aimed at the recovery of his father's Asiatic dominion, which was now shared between Lysimachus and Seleucus. But the effect of Demetrius' obvious preparations for war was to bring down on him in 287 both Lysimachus and Pyrrhus, who was immensely popular with the Macedonian soldiery. Demetrius had to fly to Asia, where he fell into the hands of Seleucus, who held him in honorable and opulent captivity till his death in 283. His claims descended to his son Antigonus Gonatas; but Pyrrhus seized the throne, only to be ejected again after a seven months' reign by Lysimachus.

Old Ptolemy Soter died in 283, having abdicated two years before in favor of his younger son Ptolemy II, called Philadelphus, to the wrath of the elder half-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus. Only Seleucus and Lysimachus were left of the original Diadochi. They were very soon fighting each other; but Lysimachus was killed at the battle of Corupedum (281). Seleucus was master of the situation and proposed to end his days in Macedon where he had not set foot for fifty years, but while he was passing through Thrace he was murdered by Ceraunus; who was hailed as king by the army (280)—to be driven out again two years later by Antigonus Gonatas.



A VICTIM OF INGRATITUDE

Phocion (402-317 B.C.) was a good soldier and a sincere patriot. Yet despite his fine military career and high integrity he became suspect in Athens and, like Socrates, drank the hemlock.

The Vatican, Rome

Seleucus was the one man among Alexander's generals who seriously strove to carry out Alexander's ideals, stood by his engagements, and took what was his due and no more in the various settlements. To his share had fallen little but the most remote and least coveted eastern provinces, till the fall of Antigonus at Ipsus gave him Syria, from which the kingdom of the Seleucids took its name. He sowed Hellenism in the East, founding over seventy cities of settlements with that intent, the most important being Antioch, which he made his capital. But he had to abandon the attempt to retain India within the bounds of the empire, and to be content to establish friendly if distant diplomatic relations with the mighty Maurya kingdom of Magadha, to whose story we now pass.

In the fourth century B.C., as from the days of the first Darius, the

Achæmenids had claimed a shadowy sovereignty in India, which perhaps meant that beyond the Indus, some of the numerous potentates paid occasional tribute and sent occasional contingents to serve in the armies of the Great King.

PTOLEMY II AND QUEEN ARSINOE

Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309-246 B.C.) succeeded to the throne of Egypt on his father's abdication in 285 B.C. Although they were Greeks the early Ptolemies adopted all the habits of the Egyptian Pharaohs, and were represented by the Egyptian sculptors in the conventional pharaonic style, as on this bas-relief.
British Museum

In the time of Alexander, the Nanda dynasty of Magadha (Bihar) held rule over the Ganges area; but the Nandas were overturned by Chandragupta, whom the Greeks called Sandracottys.

ALEXANDER had doubtless hoped to make the Punjab a base from which to extend his conquest; but on the news of his death, young Chandragupta, probably a junior prince of the royal house, attacked and expelled the Macedonian garrisons in the Punjab, exterminated his Nanda kinsmen and made himself king of Magadha—the first of the Maurya dynasty—reigning from 322 to 298. Ten years later Seleucus planned a reconquest; but by this time the king's power was consolidated. Seleucus realized the impracticability of his project, and Chandragupta was amicably recognized as independent monarch of India with Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Alexander's name (Iskander) survived in Indian memory; Megasthenes, on a mission from Seleucus, visited the Maurya court; Greeks appear from time to time in the northwest region; but there was no later attempt at conquest, and the influence in Hellenism of India was confined to the probable Indian origin of some later western religious beliefs.

Chandragupta established a great empire extending from Herat to Bengal and to the river Narbada, ruling as an absolute despot according to the maxims of Chanakya which exalt force and cunning above all moral principles in statecraft. In 298 he abdicated and was succeeded by his son Bindusara (d. 273), the father of the great Asoka, whom we shall meet in the next chapter.

Western Hellas took no part in the adventure of Alexander or the rivalries of the Diadochi. Within a few years after the death of Dionysius I of Syracuse, his empire was in dissolution; Syracuse and Sicily generally became an arena in which tyrants and would-be tyrants struggled for the mastery. Carthage was on the point of turning the situation to her own advantage, when Corinth sent the noblest of her sons, Ti-

moleon, to the deliverance of her daughter city.

Timoleon cleared the cities of Sicily of their tyrants; and when his work was finished in 338 he claimed no reward, but simply laid down the powers he had so admirably exercised.

Nevertheless, the political instability of Sicilian Hellas was incurable. In 317 another tyrant arose in Syracuse, Agathocles. A low-born adventurer, personally attractive, a typical soldier of fortune, he married a rich widow, raised a free company, tricked the Syracusans into accepting his help, as they had accepted that of Dionysius, established himself in their city by treachery and soon had Greek Sicily at his feet.

His power was a renewal of the challenge to Carthage, which was not politically affected by the conquests of Alexander. She again threatened to overrun Sicily, and inflicted heavy defeat on Agathocles at Himera in 310; but he dared to counter the blow by himself invading Africa, where he won brilliant successes on Carthaginian soil. But his absence was the signal for revolt; in 307 he left his army in Africa to its fate and sped back to make peace with Carthage and recover his own despotism; an object which he accomplished by methods which have made his name a by-word. But Agathocles had shown for the first time that Carthage was vulnerable in Africa itself.

SAVIOR OF HIS COUNTRY

Seleucus Nicator's son, Antiochus, was called Soter (Savior) from his repulse of the Gauls who invaded Asia Minor in 278 B.C. He died in 262 B.C., after a reign troubled by wars with Syria, Egypt and Pergamum.

From G. F. Hill, "Select Greek Coins," G. Van Oest

Final Eclipse of Syracusan Power

ON the Italian mainland the Syracusan ascendancy melted away on the death of Dionysius I even more rapidly than in Sicily.

Greece had no spare energies to expend on Magna Græcia; but in 334, when Alexander of Macedon was starting on the great eastern venture, his uncle Alexander "the Molossian" of Epirus answered the call of the western Hellenes, perhaps with an imperial dream of his own which descended to his nephew Pyrrhus; but in 330 his career was cut short by an assassin and he left no successor.

At the moment when the magistracies, the great administrative offices of the Roman state, ceased in 367 to be the monopoly of the old aristocracy, Rome was more powerful than any other single state in Italy. Notwithstanding this, the area of her supremacy was still limited to Latium and a portion of Etruria, and even within that area her domination was liable to be challenged. And now we find her faced by a new and formidable foe, whom perhaps we ought rather to call an old foe in a new guise, the Samnite confederacy. The leading feature in the advance of Rome during this period to an Italian supremacy is to be found in the series of Samnite wars beginning in 343 and ending in 290; with the honors divided as concerns the two principals, but a great concurrent increase in the power of Rome.

But before the struggle with the Samnites opened, the ascendancy which Rome had been able to establish after the great Gallic irruption was seriously threatened. It was perhaps only because the neighbors who feared her feared still more the Gallic menace from which they had already suffered so severely, that she was able to do something more than hold

her own. The Latin League was renewed on terms more definitely emphasizing the superior status of Rome (358), and the second Gallic tide was rolled back in 354. Etruscan cities seized the opportunity to attack Rome in the hour of her embarrassment; she suffered some defeats; but by 351 the Etruscans were forced to accept a peace for forty years.

In that year and the next the Gauls renewed hostilities for the third time, only to be decisively beaten by the son of the great Camillus who had beaten them off forty years before.

At this stage, then, Carthage recognized Rome as the coming great power, and made with her the very important treaty of 348—in the view of some authorities, the first between the two states; while others regard it as a renewal with modifications of one which, according to Polybius (c. 150 B.C.), had been made in 509, the first year of the Republic.

Treaties Between Rome and Carthage

WHETHER it was the first or the second, this new treaty was an adjustment of the situation in the west to political changes elsewhere. It defined the limits of Roman seafaring, the use of Carthaginian harbors by Roman ships operating against third parties, and Carthaginian freedom of action in Italy; but it excluded Roman settlers from Sardinia and Africa, while admitting merchants to Carthage itself and its possessions in Sicily. Carthaginians themselves were to have similar access to Rome.

Though Greeks are not mentioned, the effect of this treaty was to bind Rome, through commercial concessions, not to interfere with Carthaginian attacks on the Greek cities of the south; and a significant distinction was drawn between the protectorate of Rome and those cities which were merely allied with the Romans by treaty.

Five years after the conclusion of the treaty with Carthage, Rome was at war with the Samnites. For centuries the Sabellian highlanders of the Apennines had struggled to force their way into the plains between the hills and the Mediterranean; but Tuscans and Latins had held them in check, and for the past hundred years the direction of their expansion had been not on Latium but east and southeast. The most powerful group of the highlanders, the confederated Samnites, were now, in the middle of the fourth century, swarming down upon their degenerate precursors in Campania, as,

ITALY AND SICILY IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Western Hellas stood aloof from Alexander's eastern adventures. Domestic feuds and conflict with Carthage prevented Syracuse from securing ascendancy in Sicily, and on the Italian mainland Rome, as yet dominant only in Latium, was drawn into conflict with the Samnites and Carthaginians.

farther east and south, Lucanians and Bruttians were pressing upon the degenerate Hellenic colonies; the semi-civilized were hammering the over-civilized. The Greeks were appealing to Hellas and were ere long to appeal to semi-Hellenic Epirus; the Campanians appealed to Rome, and Rome went to their rescue.

Beginning of the Samnite Wars

THE first Samnite War (343-341) was brief. It was marked by Roman victories in the field and by a mutiny on the part of the soldiery, which was suppressed by the sympathetic common sense of the distinguished dictator, Marcus Valerius Corvus, who as a youth had vanquished a Gallic Goliath in single combat. The war was ended by a hasty peace, owing to the revolt of Rome's Latin allies ("socii") who resented their dependence on the dominant city.

In effect the Romans deserted the Campanians, in face of an immediate menace to their own position. They had forced the members of the Latin League into the Samnite war without consulting them. The Latins demanded only that they as a group should stand on an equality with Rome; she rejected the insolent proposal, and in two years' campaigning asserted her supremacy (340-338) in the Latin War.

The consuls were the patrician Manlius and the plebeian Decius Mus. On the eve of a decisive battle both were warned in dreams that victory would fall to the army whose leader was slain on the field. When Decius saw that the wing he commanded was giving ground, he solemnly dedicated himself and the opposing army to the gods of the underworld, dashed headlong and alone into the ranks of enemy, and was slain. But "behind him Rome's long battle came rolling on the foe," and the victory was won.

The effect of the Latin War was to tighten Rome's grip upon Latium and to provide her with more lands upon which to settle her ever-increasing agricultural population. The Latin League was finally dissolved (338). Some of the cities were incorporated with Rome; others were admitted to the civil but not the political rights of Roman citizenship; all were at the military service of Rome; all were debarred from forming separate alliances or combinations in any shape with each other or with any external state.

Then in 327-6 the Samnite confederacy directly challenged Rome to fight for the mastership of Italy, since their conflicting claims could be decided only by the arbitrament of arms.

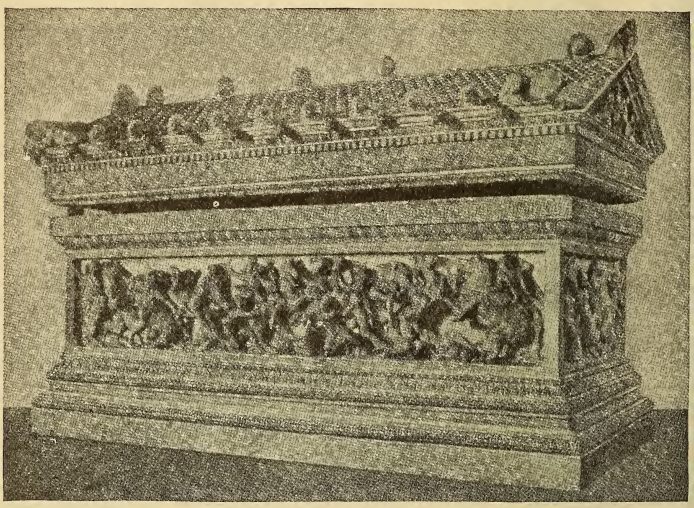
The second Samnite War lasted twenty years; and it was not decisive. One of its famous incidents was the trapping of a Roman force, which had to surrender in the pass known as the Caudine Forks on ignominious terms imposed by the Samnite victor Pontius. But the Roman Senate refused to ratify the terms, and again the war was resumed.

FOR six years, till 314, success seemed to flow with the Samnites; Campania was on the verge of deserting Rome. Then the tide turned. But the Roman victory was delayed by the intervention of the Etruscans in 311 when the forty years' peace reached its term. It was only postponed, however. After the first shock the Romans continuously defeated both their enemies. In 308 the Etruscans sued for peace, which was granted to their cities severally; and in 304 the Samnites obtained peace on terms probably severe but certainly not crushing.

For in 298 the Samnites renewed the war. Enemies were stirred up against Rome—Etruscans, Gauls, Umbrians, Sabines—on every side. But they lacked cohesion, and a shattering victory was won over their combined forces at Sentinum in Umbria in 295, when one of the consuls, the son of Decius Mus the hero of the Latin War, repeated his father's act of heroic devotion. Nevertheless, the stubborn Samnites fought on till a final defeat in 291 made further resistance hopeless, and in the following year peace was made on more favorable terms for the Samnites than Rome was wont to accord to any less dogged foe.

Since the passing of the Licinian Law in 367, the old contest between the Orders had dwindled into nothing more than an occasional attempt on the part of a patrician faction either to evade the law or to recover some fraction of ex-

clusive privilege by indirect methods. In effect the old charmed circle had become extended so as to include a number of plebeian families of influence, wealth or distinction, to whom office was in practice restricted hardly less rigidly than it had been by law to the purely patrician families of old. Technically, however, the disappearance of plebeian disabilities was now finally confirmed by the Hortensian Law (287), which recognized the Assembly of the plebs voting by tribes as a constitutional legislative body.



SPLENDID TOMB WHOSE CARVINGS CONSTITUTE AN HISTORICAL RECORD

Not only people of his own race, but aliens also paid tribute to the military genius of Alexander. He is represented in the hunting field, and leading his troops to victory over the Persians in the reliefs decorating this great sarcophagus found at Sidon (now at Constantinople) constructed to contain the remains of a Sidonian ruler. Since the carven figures were executed shortly after Alexander's death (323 B.C.) their historical value is obvious.

From Hamdy Bey et Reinach, "Une nécropole royale à Sidon"

ALEXANDER AS WORLD HERO: A STUDY

THE CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF A GREAT CAPTAIN WHOSE FEATS OF ARMS MOULDED WORLD HISTORY

W. ROMAINE PATERSON, M.A.

Author of 'The Nemesis of Nations,' etc.

AFTER we have considered the career of Alexander the Great the question which haunts us is, How can such a man be explained? Whence came the restless, dynamic elements of mind and will? It might have been expected that a youth who had Aristotle for his tutor would show signs of distinction, but we hardly look for military genius as the natural outcome of philosophy. And although during some four years the education of the future conqueror of the world was in the hands of the greatest philosopher of Greece, probably no man was more surprised than Aristotle by the achievements of his pupil. Alexander died at thirty-three, and his conquests had extended from the Aegean Sea to the Indus.

At the age of thirty-three Caesar was one day seen reading the Life of Alexander, and when he laid the book down he betrayed emotion. Asked to explain the cause, he replied that, whereas Alexander at the age of thirty-three had achieved all, he himself had as yet done nothing. At the age of twenty-four Napoleon was still an artillery commander, but at the same age Alexander had already won the battle of the Grancus and the battle of Issus, which decided in their main lines the future relations between Europe and Asia.

Now, it may seem unreasonable to compare the simpler methods of ancient warfare with the far more complicated problems which face a modern commander. But amid the changing technique of war the human factor remains constant, the principles of strategy remain the same.

In at least one of his battles in Asia, for instance, the tactics of Alexander resembled those of Napoleon at Austerlitz. In mere daring and in their large design, Alexander's campaigns seem to be rivalled only by the campaigns of Hannibal. He never lost a battle, and he never retreated in face of the enemy. If we consider the range of his operations, no general of the ancient world, not even Caesar, and none of the modern world, not even Napoleon, can be compared with him. All other commanders drew plans on a smaller scale. While they played with fragments of continents, he played with continents. Moreover, Alexander was very young: it was while still in adolescence that, like the Prometheus of western civilization, he carried its light far into the Orient.

Character has its origins, and, therefore, Plutarch wisely allows us a glimpse of Alexander's mother, Olympias, whose father was king of Epirus in northern Greece. She had passed on to her son her romantic temperament, her religious mysticism and her gift of imagination. She was a devotee of the Dionysian cult, shared the excitements of Orphism, and may actually have been one of those Bacchantes so vividly depicted in "The Bacchae" of Euripides. Highly strung and intolerant of a rival, she appears to have wakened a warm affection in her son.

It was from his mother that he received his sense of humour, his unconventionality, but also his impatient and impetuous nature. We are able to trace this impulsiveness both in the conduct of his campaigns and in his social relations. It was responsible for some of his most brilliant actions in the field, as well as for certain errors committed in resentment of disloyalty.

For example, at the battle of the Granicus he refused to accept the advice of the cautious old chief of staff, Parmenio, who with many plausible reasons advocated delay. Alexander attacked at once and won his first victory over the Persians, which opened the way

into Asia and made possible the final overthrow of Darius. But once in a burst of anger after a banquet at Samarkand, at which too much wine had been drunk, he slew with his own hand—not, indeed, without provocation at first patiently borne—his friend and companion Clitus, who had saved the king's life at that same battle of the Granicus.

MOTHER AND SON

His soaring imagination and idealism and his liability to fits of frenzy Alexander seems to have inherited from his mother Olympias. The respect in which he held her and their mutual affection are commemorated by their juxtaposition in this cameo

From Bernoulli, 'Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen'

Of course, we shall be disappointed if we expect to find undeviating consistency in a character like Alexander's, and Plutarch, as well as Arrian and Quintus Curtius, prepares us for the most glaring contradictions in a being who appears to have been as highly developed on the emotional as on the intellectual side. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that after he had slain his friend he was plunged in remorse, seized the spear from the corpse and was about to turn it upon himself when he was disarmed by his bodyguard.

Born in the autumn of 356 B.C., he was brought up at a court seething with political ambition, because it was during the reign of Philip that Macedon gained the headship of Hellas by a policy of alternate boldness and caution. Philip was not only a capable military leader but a statesman and shrewd diplomatist, and it was a grave error on the part of Demosthenes to underrate his powers and to taunt him with being "not even a respectable barbarian." While cultured Athens was listening to her orators, Philip, in the rude north of Greece, was perfecting a military system which made him master of the Greek states and his son master of the world. It was from Philip that Alexander inherited his pertinacity, his long views, his faculty of decision and his military instinct.

Without the military machine which Philip created Alexander could never have started on his invasion of the Persian empire, or at least he could not have started so soon. And yet, in spite of an astute and calculating mind, Philip, like Olympias, betrayed certain histrionic traits which were also shown now and again in the actions of their son.

As a youth Alexander chafed in vexation in case Philip might by his many conquests leave nothing else to be con-

quered. But the throne became vacant soon enough. In smoothing out the family quarrel Philip was struck down by an assassin, and although Alexander had taken his mother's part in the feud he quickly avenged his father's murder. It was to the dead king's credit that he had early perceived the exceptional gifts of Alexander, in whose education he seems to have taken the liveliest interest. It was he who had first noticed that Alexander "was far from pliable," that his character was forceful, but that it would respond to wise teaching, and it was for that reason that he summoned Aristotle to undertake the final shaping of his mind.

Now, Aristotle interested him in the study of Nature and of medicine. But Alexander was also a lover of books, and was a fervent admirer of the Homeric poems. Once, when in the heart of Asia, he sent to Greece for books, and the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, together with other works, were dispatched to him. Unlike Napoleon, who abhorred long and elaborate meals, Alexander lingered at the banquet—not, as Plutarch is careful to remind us, for the sake of the pleasures of the table, but for the sake of table-talk on history, poetry and religion, and in order to take part in the combat of wit and repartee.

If the character of a born leader of men is made up of dynamic as well as of static elements—that is to say, if it must contain forces of energy as well as forces of control—then Alexander was fully equipped for what was, after all, the greatest achievement by any single human will in history.

He had shared the severe military discipline of his father's army in the rough land of Macedon. As a boy he had known camp life. At the age of sixteen, in the year 340 B.C., he was left in charge of the seal of state while Philip was besieging Byzantium. Eager to have something to his own credit on his father's return, Alexander meanwhile began a small war on his own account, and subdued a neighboring tribe. In 338 B.C. he fought under his father's eye at Chaeronea, where Philip's victory made him at last *hegemon* or supreme war lord of Greece, which he had promised to lead against the common enemy, Persia. But that was to be the task of Alexander, who in the summer of 336 B.C. became king of Macedon.

Alexander was the son of a king, and an immense task had been bequeathed to him. His father must often have talked to him about the necessity of preventing another Persian invasion and of the coming struggle in which either Greece or Persia must be broken in pieces. As a boy Alexander had heard of the sufferings endured by the Greeks of the preceding century. When he was leading his soldiers against Darius he reminded them on the eve of the battle of Issus, that when Xerxes, the son of a greater Darius, was in Hellas, temples were

DREAMER AND DOER

Possessed of vivid imagination, Alexander had also great intellectual power, a genius for practical affairs and the gift of command—a complex nature well suggested in this head.

The Louvre; photo, Alinari

desecrated and wells polluted. He had listened to tales of Marathon, Salamis and of Thermopylae.

He felt he had a mission which, moreover, he had inherited. The taunt of Demosthenes that the people of Macedon

SHOCK OF THE MACEDONIAN CAVALRY ROUTS——

The battle of the River Granicus early in 334—primarily a cavalry engagement—ended in a decisive victory for the Macedonians. It is believed to be this conflict which is represented on one side of the Alexander sarcophagus. At the extreme left Alexander is engaging a Persian cavalryman.

From Hamdy Bey et Reinach—

were not Greeks at all was ethnologically baseless. The ruder northern kinsfolk were naturally the butt of the Athenians, but the people of Macedon shared Greek blood and had remained closer to the primitive stock. The dynasty in the fifth century had proved itself of Argive descent, and a predecessor of Alexander who bore the same name was called the Philhellene because he had taken the side of Greece against the Persians. As a Greek by birth as well as by education he was determined to carry out the task of which the divided Greek states were incapable. The key to the meaning of his career lies in the single word, Persia.

Alexander was at the head of an extraordinarily well-organized military power. The Macedonian phalanx had been perfected by Philip, and was the most formidable infantry of the day. The men were equipped with a pike eighteen feet long, which was called the sarissa. There were some six battalions in close formation. As in the Spartan phalanx the ranks were eight deep.

In the employment of shock tactics the phalanx was rarely unsuccessful. It formed the centre, but cavalry action and the tactical use of light-armed foot soldiers, who carried swords and shields, prepared the way for its advance. There were also bodies of bowmen. The cavalry, of which there were numerous squadrons, were equipped with metal helmet, cuirass, sword and a lance six feet in length. The light horsemen were armed with still longer lances. As the force moved out to battle the cavalry were placed on the wings, and Alexander invariably led the right wing, while Parmenio, the chief of staff, commanded

on the left. According to Arrian the army was slightly more than 30,000 infantry strong, with some 5,000 cavalry.

When we consider the prestige of Persia, the extent of the empire, its resources in men, money and material, the adventure of Alexander must have appeared almost insane to those who watched him setting out for the Dardanelles in the spring of 344 B.C. He was taking a tremendous risk in leaving Europe at all, even although the Greek states had been overawed by his sudden display of power. There was always the danger of an insurrection in his rear. Besides, Persia held the sea, her fleet was under the command of an able Greek sailor, Memnon of Rhodes, and she had naval bases in the Mediterranean and the Aegean. The young king had made Macedon a spring-board for a leap into the unknown.

Nevertheless, the longer we follow his campaigns the more we discern the strategic genius inspiring them. His scientific grasp of the problems which awaited him seemed to work in harmony with his strong love for romantic adventure. It was characteristic of the son of Olympias to visit the site of Troy and to worship at the tomb of Achilles, whom he claimed as ancestor. And it was only after all due rites had been paid that he crossed the Hellespont. News of his advance had reached the Persian satraps in Asia Minor, and they assembled a large army to meet him at the Granicus, a river of the Troad which flows into the Sea of Marmora. He was thus fighting at the gates of Asia.

The depth and current of the river dismayed some of his officers, and, as we have already mentioned, Parmenio advised delay in forcing the crossing because the Persians, assisted by Greek mercenary troops, held a strong position on the opposite bank. But Alexander, at the head of thirteen troops of horse, was already across, and he was followed by the infantry, fighting to gain a solid footing in the ford. The struggle appears to have taken place partly on land and partly in the water, until the Macedonian infantry gradually drove the enemy from the eastern bank. Alexander had a narrow escape when attacked by two prominent Persian commanders, for he was conspicuous in his glittering helmet, buckler and white plumes. He was saved by Clitus, "the very man," adds Arrian, "who was killed by Alexander in a fit of anger six years later."

The Macedonian cavalry, using their shock tactics, broke through the enemy line, and then came the opportunity of the phalanx, which in this first battle in Asia revealed itself to the Persians as the most formidable instrument of assault which they had hitherto met. It appears that the Persian reserves posted on higher ground had not been utilized. These were Greek professional soldiers who had been traitors to the cause of Greece, and when the phalanx came up to them Alexander ordered that no quarter was to be given.

Arrian gives evidence that Alexander, in the battle of the Granicus, showed himself a great cavalry leader. He had quickly noticed that the Persian cavalry had been placed on the defensive. This was a tactical error of which Alexander immediately took advantage. A feint attack on the Persian left was designed to cause a breach in their centre, and the movement succeeded. When the phalanx came into action the enemy centre was already weakened, while a counter-attack by the Persian cavalry in "wedge shape" failed.

According to Diodorus over ten thousand of the Persian infantry and two thousand of their cavalry were killed, and there were thousands of prisoners. The Macedonian casualties were on a far smaller scale, and, like Wellington, Alexander was careful of the lives of his men. He could not at this early stage afford to throw away the life of a single soldier.

What is certain is that the victory of the Granicus was of decisive importance, because as a result many of the coast towns of Asia Minor submitted. The Persian prestige was already shaken. The conquest of Miletus came later (334 B.C.), but Sardis surrendered. In the elation of success, and eager to convince the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, that their chosen leader had already done good work for them, Alexander sent as a gift to Athens three hundred of the captured shields, besides other spoils, with the following inscription: "Alexander, the son of Philip, and all the Greeks except the Spartans [took these

Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Alex. = Alexandria Battle Sites
Route of Alexander
" Craterus
Voyage of Nearchus
GAUL
SCYTHIA
ILLYRIA
Apennine Mts
Rome
Latium
Capua
Lucania
Venusia
SARDINIA
Himera
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
R. Danube
MACEDONIA
THRACE
Pella
Amphipolis
Byzantium
Euxine (Black Sea)
Caucasus Mts
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
R. Jaxartes
Alex. Eschate (Khojend)
SOGDIANA
Maracanda (Samarkand)
R. Oxus (Amu Darya)
BACTRIA
Hindu Kush
Ortospana (Kabul)
Kophen R.
Indus R.
Hydaspes R.
Acesines R.
Hydraspes R.
Indus R.
Alex. Arion (Herat)
AFGHANISTAN
Alex. Arachosia (Kandahar)
Alex. Rhoxane
Alex. Gedrosia
Alex. Pattala
Alex. Eschate
Alex. Arion
Alex. Arachosia
Alex. Gedrosia
Alex. Rhoxane
Alex. Pattala

spoils] from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia." The gift was as shrewd as it was generous, since it might at last persuade the hostile states that they had been misled by their statesmen in their hatred of Macedon.

The inscription contains a great deal of subtlety which we might lose sight of unless we remembered the relations which had existed between Macedon and the rest of Hellas. Alexander proudly announces himself as "the son of Philip," the king to whom Demosthenes had often in his orations to the Athenians referred with scorn. In the second place, Alexander makes a characteristic thrust at Sparta, who had sullenly refused to recognize the headship of the king of Macedon.

Thirdly, by his application of the word "barbarians," which originally meant "foreigners," to the Persians, he seems ironically as well as delicately to reprove the rest of Hellas for having so often used the word against the Macedonians. Such was his first bulletin of victory.

Alexander soon revealed that he was a statesman as well as a soldier. By the bold policy of conferring liberal institutions on the cities which opened their gates to him, he created allies at every stage of his progress.

Now he began to link up his strategy on land with his strategy on the sea, and at first used his fleet, consisting of some 160 vessels, for defensive purposes, as in the case of Miletus, where his ships were in occupation of the harbor. The Persian fleet was far more powerful, but the impulsive victor of the Granicus was capable of employing Fabian tactics where they were necessary for success. Persia had in her service all the ships of Phoenicia and Cyprus, and the seamen were tried veterans.

But a larger plan of campaign had formed itself in Alexander's mind, and he was determined not to jeopardize it by risking a naval battle in which the odds would be against him. He was content, therefore, to lay siege to Miletus, which finally succumbed. Alexander was able to continue his land campaign through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia into Cilicia where he and Darius at last met at Issus. It was Alexander's second year in Asia Minor and the results of the battle were momentous.

Darius had moved from Susa, and had passed through the Amanian gate into the plain of Issus, which skirts the shores of the Gulf of Alexandretta. A Macedonian outlaw who had taken refuge at the Persian court had warned the monarch not to choose his battlefield within the narrow passes of the mountains, but rather to await the army of Macedon on level ground upon which it could be easily encircled by the vast hordes of the Persians.

But Darius broke camp and marched against Alexander, who had passed into Syria through the Cilician Gates before Darius could overtake him. For Alexander's plan was first to seize the Syrian coast, and especially Tyre, as a naval base from which to begin the war on sea.

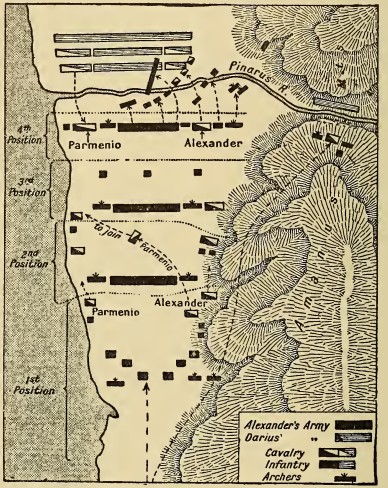
It is generally supposed that the two armies missed each other. The probability is that so astute a commander as the king of Macedon had left a rear-guard in order to keep him informed of the enemy's movements. Instead of the battlefield of Issus having been "a present made by Fortune to Alexander," as Plutarch says, it is far more likely that it was of his own choosing. He had noticed that the plain of Issus would afford too little space for the alignment of the vast Persian host. Owing to alluvial deposit by the streams which flow down from the encircling hills the plain is now almost five miles in width, but in the days of Darius and Alexander it was less than two.

Consequently, it suited Alexander's strategy to let Darius believe that the small army from Europe was fleeing before him into Syria. We know that Darius supposed that Alexander's delay in Cilicia was caused by fear, whereas it was caused by a severe chill which Alexander had contracted. Darius, as we have seen, had informers in his camp, and it is almost certain that there were also informers in the camp of Alexander. What more natural, therefore, than that he should make use of information conveyed to him by Persian deserters and allow Darius to be entangled in the plain of Issus, with the sea in front and the narrow defiles of the mountain range behind? For the Macedonian army the situation had, indeed, its perils because Darius barred the way back to Europe,

and if Alexander were beaten his line of retreat would lie through Syria, which was under Persian rule. It was for that reason that Alexander hazarded an engagement on ground least suitable to the enemy but favorable to himself. As soon as he had heard that Darius had reached the plain he turned to fight his second battle with the Persians. News had arrived in Greece that Darius in person was leading some six hundred thousand men against the son of Philip, and Demosthenes predicted that Alexander would be "trampled under the hoofs of the Persian cavalry."

As he emerged into the wider part of the plain Alexander began to deploy his forces until they occupied a line stretching from the hills to the shore. As usual he led the right wing, while Parmenio on the left had orders to hug the shore in view of a possible outflanking movement on the part of the Persians. Spies had no doubt informed Darius that it was Parmenio who was in command on the left. It may have been for this reason that the best Persian cavalry was massed on the Persian right with a view to overwhelming him. Alexander, however, having observed the maneuver, quickly transferred his Thessalian horsemen to the left to support Parmenio, who was no doubt already known to Darius to be a less daring leader than Alexander. Aware of the dangerous situation in which his army had been caught, the Persian king was anxious to extricate himself. But it was far too late, for the army of Macedon, with its Greek contingents, was already advancing.

Its phalanx formed the center, and once more Darius had prepared a counterstroke. His own center was held by some thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, to whom was allotted the invidious task of fighting men of their own race. It was a case of Greek meeting Greek, and it was at the battle of Issus that the Macedonian phalanx came through its sternest ordeal. As at the battle of the Granicus, a river, the Pinarus, divided the Persians from the army of Alexander.



TACTICS SUCCESSFUL AT ISSUS

Alexander placed his cavalry on either wing and his heavy infantry in the center. The right wing was flung on the Persians, shattering their left and outflanking their center.

Before the engagement Darius threw a screen of cavalry and infantry across the river to mask his dispositions, but those troops were withdrawn before the battle began. Almost in a Napoleonic manner Alexander had encouraged his men with the hope of plunder, and in a speech attributed to him by Quintus Curtius, the historian, he told them that the booty of the East would be theirs.

The development of the action is clearly seen in the pages of Arrian, who shows that Alexander gave the enemy no chance of outflanking him. He was in the forefront of the battle, and it was his own brilliant handling of his cavalry on the Persian left which made it possible to attack the Greek mercenaries on the flank and prepare the way for a mass movement by the phalanx against the enemy center. An attempt to outflank the Macedonian right had been foiled, but for some time the left was also in danger owing to the numerical superiority of the Persian cavalry. Moreover, the

phalanx, after having reached the opposite bank, was held in check by the enemy, who occupied higher ground. The Persian left, however, was already shattered, and the center broke owing to a combined attack by Alexander's cavalry, which he was personally leading, and by the phalanx.

It was the aim of Alexander to seize the person of the Persian king, but night was coming down, and Darius escaped. As long as the light lasted the pursuit continued. The broken army was streaming away eastwards again.

We hear of immense Persian losses, whereas Alexander had used his far smaller force with such skill and economy that it was described as a great victory at a trifling cost. In any case, the battle of Issus meant that the Persian monarchy could no longer hope to convert Europe into an Asiatic province.

Why did not Alexander follow up his victory at Issus, advance to the Euphrates, and destroy the Persian Empire he had so shaken? The answer to that question reveals the large plan which he had conceived. Instead of crossing over the mountains into Assyria, he began the conquest of Phoenicia, spent seven months in the siege of Tyre, and then passed to Egypt, where he founded Alexandria.

The Syrian and Egyptian campaigns of Alexander were only the beginning of a far vaster itinerary. As we have seen, the meaning of his anabasis lies in the word Persia. His eyes, like Napoleon's, were always on the East, but he could not advance into Asia and leave in his rear a great tract of territory under Persian domination. By her presence in Phoenicia and in Egypt, by her hold on Cyprus and especially on Tyre, Persia was still all-powerful on the Mediterranean seaboard. Besides, those lands and islands were a recruiting ground for soldiers, sailors and slaves. For military as well as for commercial reasons it was necessary to destroy her influence once and for all in the Mediterranean basin.

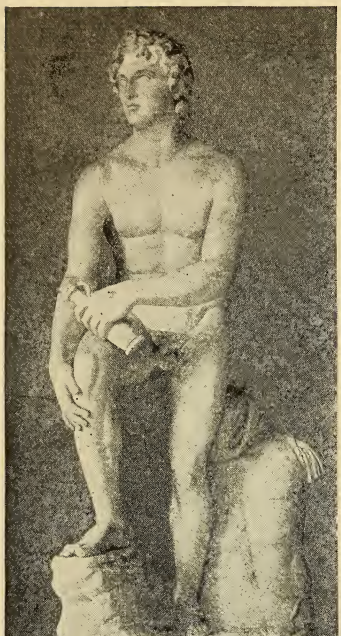
Alexander had temporarily disbanded his fleet, but we now get a glimpse of his sense of sea-power. With extraordinary insight he saw that the conquest, by operations on land, of the Syrian coast would give naval supremacy. He seized the Phoenician ports, and the Phoenician ships in the service of Persia deserted to his colors. Ultimately the whole Phoenician fleet passed under his control, and Cyprus alone sent him a hundred ships.

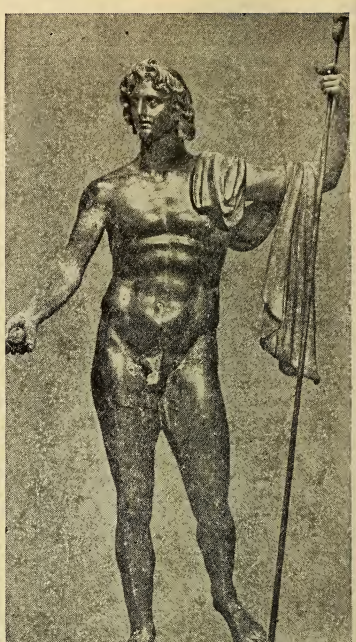
Tyre was one of Alexander's greatest prizes, although its capture involved much patient labor of engineering and siege work. A mole was built from the mainland in order that the fortress might be carried by assault. Tyre, "the island of the princes of the sea," had now passed into the power of the audacious northern king. The wealth of the world was falling into his hands. Ancient civilizations were bowing before him. When he reached Egypt he was received with acclamation as a liberator, and when he left it Alexandria became his monument.

Only seven years had the future in store for him, but what years! We shall refer later to the psychological change which contact with the East wrought in his character. Meanwhile, he moved from one military and political success to another. After the fall of Tyre even the Athenians sent a special embassy to declare their loyalty to the champion of Greece against Asia. So that, with his name already known all over the civilized world, Alexander set out to meet Darius for a final decision beyond the rivers of Babylon. Darius appears to have been at last aware that the newcomer from Europe was invincible, and he was ready to come to terms. He, therefore, sent envoys with proposals for a treaty of peace.

He offered all the territory west of the Euphrates, ten thousand talents as ransom for captives taken at the battle of Issus, and one of his own daughters as a bride for Alexander. (The talent was worth about two hundred and forty pounds, with probably six times the purchasing power of our money.) A weaker man might have accepted such terms. "If I were Alexander," said the chief of staff, "I would accept them." Alexander's reply was characteristic of his irony and wit: "And so should I, if I were Parmenio." It was a case in which as yet no compromise was possible.

Following the final victory Alexander was, indeed, so eager to reconcile East and West that he offended his own followers, and his later oriental policy caused mutinies and even plots against his life. Meanwhile, he decided for ordeal





IDEALIZED FIGURES THAT ATTRIBUTE TO ALEXANDER THE BEAUTY AND MAJESTY OF A GOD

It is even more difficult to realize the physical characteristics of Alexander than to understand his mind, since in art he is usually given the perfect form of a Praxitelean god. Plutarch states that Alexander had the body of an Olympic athlete, and other evidence testifies to his grace. But his head was bent towards his left shoulder, and this deformity has here been overlooked. In the Rodanini statue (left) he has the aspect of a divine hero, and the statuette (right) in which he is also shown naked seems to identify him with Zeus.

Glyptothek, Munich, photos, Bruckmann

by battle in the very centre of the enemy's empire. And at last Darius was able to choose his own ground in the Mesopotamian plain, where his vast forces and their reserves could be manoeuvred to the utmost advantage. The army of Alexander had grown with his progress, for every victory had brought new recruits. But its size was disproportionate to the Persian masses recruited from all the vassal lands which still acknowledged the sovereignty of the Great King. It was rumored, too, that the Persians had devised new engines of war in the shape of scythed chariots for the express purpose of mowing down the Macedonian phalanx.

Darius had assembled his army at Babylon, and he then moved up the eastern bank of the Tigris to Gaugamela, where the battle was fought. Popular tradition, as Plutarch mentions, erroneously supposed that the scene of this great encounter was Arbela (modern Erbel), which lies fifty miles to the east. The month was September, 331 B.C.

Small as his army was in comparison

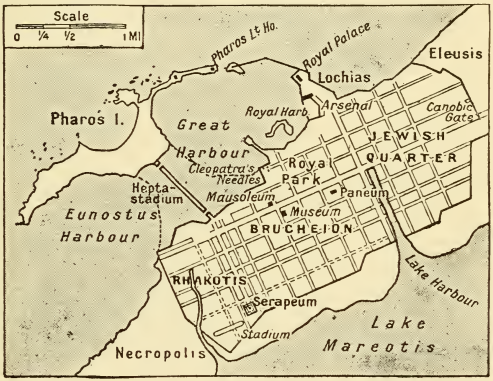
with the army of Darius, it now numbered almost fifty thousand men, including seven thousand cavalry. And once again the shock tactics of the Macedonian cavalry prepared the way for the assault by the phalanx, which at the psychological moment "rolled on the enemy like a flood."

Perhaps the chief interest in the tactics of Alexander as described by Arrian lies in the fact that at the battle of Gaugamela the Macedonian line extended only to about the length of the enemy's center. The risk of encirclement was obvious. The flanks of the Macedonian army, however, were protected by specially devised reserves held in the rear of both wings for the purpose of meeting any outflanking movement. Like Napoleon at Austerlitz, Alexander had decided to tear open the enemy center.

On his right the ground was hilly. In order, therefore, to render the scythed chariots useless, he moved his line to the right, expecting that the Persian line would likewise be moved a corresponding distance to their left. This happened. But when Darius perceived the significance of Alexander's move he launched a cavalry attack on the Macedonian right, which, at first successful, was later repulsed. The scythed chariots were then ordered to bear down on the phalanx, but by a steady rain of arrows and by the use of the long pikes the horses were disabled or killed, and the onrush was stopped. Still more remarkable was the order to the leaders of the phalanx to open the ranks suddenly so as to let pass those chariots which had not been arrested, and then to close the ranks as suddenly after they had passed through.

But Alexander's eye was fixed on the Persian centre. The Persian movement to the left had weakened their centre, and then, after the chariots had been rendered useless, Alexander launched his main attack against the centre and burst through. The scene of the battle of Issus was repeated.

Darius, however might have been captured if at a critical moment Parmenio, hard pressed on the left, had not called for assistance. It appears that he was afraid that the stores might be captured. Plutarch mentions that the appeal was made twice, and a detachment of cavalry was sent as reinforcement.



TRADE CENTER FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER

Having decided to build in Egypt a port that should be the focus of eastern commerce, Alexander chose a suitable site and there laid the foundations of the city called Alexandria in his honor. The early plan may yet be traced, although the Heptastadium has now been converted into an isthmus by silting.

Meantime once more Darius escaped. During the pursuit, which was interrupted by nightfall, the Macedonians failed to overtake the fugitive king. Alexander never forgave Parmenio because the cavalry who might have captured Darius had been unnecessarily diverted to protect the left at a moment when the battle was practically won.

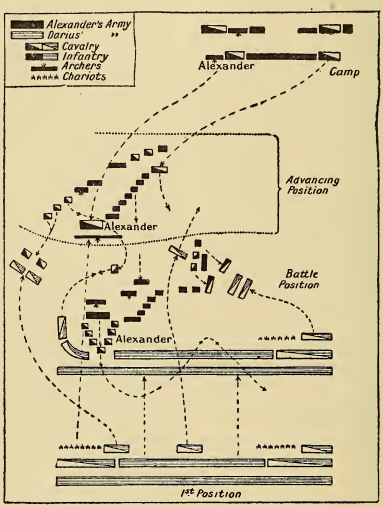
Nevertheless, Alexander had gained another victory for Europe in the conflict with Asia. And it was still as a European that he wrote to the Greeks of the homeland and told them that "all tyrannies were now at an end and they might consider themselves autonomous." After Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae

with their accumulated treasure had fallen into his hands he continued to remember the reason why he had come to destroy Persia, although there are indications that a new idea was already dawning in his mind—that of a policy of endeavouring to reconcile the interests of the West and the East. Alexander was still eager to meet Darius in person, and three years of arduous fighting were required to subdue the lands of Persia. At last it was only the corpse of the Great King which Alexander beheld, because Darius had been assassinated by one of his own satraps.

As Alexander advanced, insurrections frequently broke out in the rear, and he turned to quell them. It was in Iran where, although he was unaware of it, he was fighting the tribes which had the same "Aryan" blood as the Macedonians, that he encountered the fiercest opposition. In 329 B.C. he reached the Kabul valley, and in the spring of 328 he crossed the Hindu Kush. In 327 he was in Sogdiana (Bokhara), and after the submission of the native princes he married, to the astonishment of his followers, Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes. He planted numerous cities, since to a Greek a city was the sign and nucleus of civilization.

Alexander told his war-weary veterans, who were clamorous to return to their hearths, that if the army withdrew too soon from Asia, having now thrown it into political confusion, the "barbarians" would attack them and a rearguard action would require to be fought all the way. Nevertheless, he offered them their discharge. At these words the men rallied to him at once and shouted that they would follow him to any part of the world. And so Alexander prepared to pass into India.

We may notice here that while he was in the north-west borderland he scaled the famous fortress called by the Greeks Aornos—the Birdless—in which new interest has been aroused through the apparently successful identification of the mountain by Sir Aurel Stein. It lies some thirty miles above the junction of the Copen (Kabul river) and the Indus. Over the Indus Alexander had ordered a bridge to be built, and he passed across it into the Punjab in 326 B.C.



BATTLE THAT GAINED PERSIA

When he engaged the new army of Darius at Gaugamela, Alexander again adopted the tactics that he had proved at Issus. With the heavy cavalry he shattered the Persian center, but not before his own left wing was partially broken.

Having gained the friendship of the Indian Prince Taxiles, whose state lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (the modern Jhelum), Alexander advanced towards the latter river, because the king whom the Greeks named Porus was waiting on the farther bank to dispute the passage. The army of Porus numbered between thirty and forty thousand men, and he had some two hundred elephants. The Greeks had seen a few elephants at Gaugamela, but it was a startling experience to find so many of those great beasts now ranged against them.

The battle of the Hydaspes was fought in the spring of 326 B.C., when the river was swollen by the melting of the snows.

The battle scene as it is painted by Arrian makes the river a very real factor in the fortune of the day, for Alexander used his forces as a modern tactician would use them in similar circumstances. He was supposed to be awaiting the subsidence of the flood, and he allowed his enemy to continue in that belief. He further deceived Porus by making a series of feints at crossing now at this point and now at that, but those apparent attempts to gain the other side masked a different plan. There was only one ford much higher up the river where the infantry could pass over with comparative ease. At that point, which was about ten miles distant from the Macedonian encampment, there was an island in mid-stream, and it was thickly wooded. Having left the bulk of his army under Craterus, with orders to remain in position opposite the enemy, Alexander withdrew part of his forces with a strong detachment of cavalry and, by a détour of some fifteen miles, arrived at the chosen point for crossing.

During a night of heavy rain the river was forded and then, by a rapid march, Alexander took Porus completely by surprise. The Indian leader was compelled to wheel his forces to meet the attack from a wholly unexpected direction at the very moment when the main army of Macedon began to cross the river. Alexander, personally leading thirteen thousand troops, had thus turned the flank of Porus, whose plans had been thrown into confusion. He was practically surrounded, because the attack in the rear by the forces from over the river was timed to take place during the frontal attack by Alexander.

The old rajah was defeated, but Arrian and Plutarch agree in their account of the extreme courtesy displayed by Alexander. Arrian says that they met as two brave men meet. When Alexander asked Porus how he desired to be treated, the proud Hindu replied, "royally." And royally Alexander behaved, because he not only appointed Porus satrap of the province, but increased its territory.

It was Alexander's ambition to reach the Ganges, but mutinies again broke out among the soldiers, who were as disappointed with India as the soldiers of Napoleon were with Egypt. On the arrival of the army of Macedon at the river Hyphasis (modern Beas) the men refused to go farther. Alexander shut himself up in his tent, hoping that the mutineers would once more rally to him. But they were stale and war-weary, and the great leader was compelled to begin preparations for the return. To the genius of a military chief he added the curiosity of the explorer. He collected and provisioned a fleet, sailed down the Punjab rivers towards the Indus, and reached the delta in midsummer, 325. Even after he had been wounded almost to death in the storming of the town of the Malli (the modern town of Multan) his energy remained exhaustless. He instructed his admiral, Nearchus, to sail from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf while the monsoon was blowing, and then in late autumn set his face westwards.

A terrible three months' march through the desert of Baluchistan caused, in totally different conditions, losses proportionately as great as the losses in Napoleon's army in the retreat from Moscow. Almost half the army perished owing to heat, hunger and thirst. Alexander's objective was Susa, which he reached in the spring of 324 and where many administrative problems awaited him. Only one year of life remained, and it was to be spent in organizing the immense empire which he had won.

Statesman as he was, he desired the co-operation of the conquered in the scheme of government, but his policy alienated many of his Macedonian and Greek followers. They were unable to grasp his intention or to share his large views. He offered satrapies to Persian grandees familiar with the customs of the country, discharged the grumbling Macedonian veterans, drilled some thirty thousand Persian youths and taught them the discipline of the army which had brought the power of the West into the East, and he even gave appointments to Asian princes in his *agema* or household cavalry.

Alexander was always tempted to do everything on the largest scale. He paid the debts contracted by his soldiers to the amount of twenty thousand talents, and then he ordered them to marry Persian wives. There was an extraordinary, an almost Rabelaisian marriage scene at Susa when Alexander wedded Statira, the

daughter of Darius, while some hundred of his generals married Persian ladies. According to Arrian, a marriage register was drawn up, and more than ten thousand Macedonians united themselves in wedlock with the daughters of Persia. It may seem very fantastic, but it was Alexander's way of proclaiming the need for co-operation between East and West.

Alexander went to Babylon in the spring of 323 B.C., and here he found awaiting him various foreign embassies who had come to pay homage to the conqueror of the East. Who can measure the different course which history might have taken if Alexander had lived to arrest the growing power of Carthage? In little more than fifty years after his death the First Punic war began. The emergence of Rome as the next great world state would have been thwarted or at least retarded if Alexander had been in northern Africa toward the close of the fourth century.

But in June, 323, he fell ill at Babylon, and some suspected that, since his sickness took place immediately after a banquet, he had been poisoned.

The general opinion, modern as well as ancient, however, supports the belief that his death was due to natural causes. The court bulletins quoted by Plutarch and Arrian indicate the symptoms of a fever's rapid course.

In vain Nearchus, the admiral, came to his master's bedside to cheer him with tales of "the great sea," and of what the navy had seen in the voyage from the Indus. Alexander was suffering from the malarial fever of which we read in the earlier Babylonian incantations.

He had been engaged in the completion of plans for a new expedition. Army and fleet were in readiness to start for Arabia. But he became delirious. During one of the lucid moments he was asked to whom he desired to bequeath the Empire, and he replied: "To the best man." He died while the sun was setting on the Babylonian plain on the evening of June 13, 323 B.C.

RECORD OF THE DEFEAT OF PORUS

The battle of the Hydaspes, Alexander's supreme triumph in India, is commemorated in this issue—two coins are shown—minted by his successors in the East. On one side he is represented on horseback, charging the elephant on which is the Indian king Porus; on the other as a god, crowned by Victory.

British Museum

Plutarch's "comparison" between Alexander and Caesar is missing, but if it was ever written their characters must have offered precisely those similarities and contrasts which Plutarch delighted to portray. No doubt he would have reminded us that it was in Thessaly, on ground which must have been familiar to Alexander, that Caesar won the battle of Pharsalus.

Caesar's dispositions at that battle seem to indicate that he had made a close study of the tactics of the king of Macedon. Like Alexander he led the right wing, and he used his infantry in the center as Alexander used his phalanx.

In politics, too, when the moment was convenient, Caesar, like Alexander, used shock tactics. The East fascinated both men as it lated fascinated Napoleon. Caesar also went warring in Asia Minor (Zela, 47 B.C.) and in Africa (Thapsus, 46 B.C.). He spent some nine months in Egypt and, like Napoleon, captured Alexandria, which bore the name of the man whom they both were at such pains to emulate.

But, compared with what we have called Alexander's vast itinerary, Caesar's route march of Empire was shorter. He did not throw the radius of his name and fame so far across Asia. He was always nearer his base, whereas Alexander's line of communications was so lengthened that it may be said to have snapped.

It was Caesar's habit to return frequently to Rome or to be at least within striking distance, because he was a good politician as well as a soldier. Alexander was never a politician but a law-giver from the beginning. It was unnecessary for a king's son to buy his way to power as Caesar bought it.

Alexander, however, was delivered from the need of all mean subterfuge. One purpose propelled him. It was to avenge Greece, and if the process of avenging brought empires in its train it was because a military genius of the first rank directed the operations. He seems far more "objective" in his aims, more open in his character and infinitely more magnanimous. Caesar lavished money on friends and foes alike, but it was for political reasons. Caesar, after his death, was acclaimed generous because in his will he had left a gift to every Roman citizen. When Alexander was starting on his hazardous journey he divided all his possessions among his friends, and when asked what he had reserved for himself he replied, "My hopes."

Hannibal devoted his whole life to the destruction of Rome; Alexander dedicated all his powers to the destruction of Persia for the sake of Greece. It is no doubt true that in pure military genius and in his astonishing tactical resource Hannibal surpassed Alexander, but they equalled each other in daring. Hannibal finally failed, whereas fortune never forsook Alexander. In the career of each there is a certain idealism which appears to be lacking in Caesar and Napoleon.

There is a sense in which the victories of all other commanders seem parochial compared with those of Alexander. Napoleon attempted to reshuffle the Europe which he despised, and succeeded in obliterating many frontiers, but when he fell, things became what they had been, as trees that bend to the storm stand erect when the storm has passed. But the course of western civilization cannot be explained without reference to Alexander the Great.

Caesar, indeed, by the conquest of Gaul, which spread Roman law and culture throughout Europe, had a more immediate influence on the western world. But if Alexander had not preceded him, and had not defended Greek civilization against the encroachments of the Orient, the history of Rome herself would have been utterly different. There would have been at least a retardation by centuries of the development of Public Law and of those democratic institutions which best express the political and social ideals of Europe.

The modern world is still interested in his constructive statesmanship, and, although the science of war has developed on lines undreamed of by him, his tactics are still studied. We may revert for a moment to his military career in order to remind the reader that its unrivalled achievements were made possible only because a small but highly disciplined European army was pitted against Asiatics.

Without the heavy Macedonian cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx Alexander could have done nothing. Marshal Foch has pointed out that the basic principles of war remained unaltered.

Every army, whatever its equipment in the field, has a right, a left and a center. The genius of every great commander of the world's armies has consisted in his discovery of the point at which to make the most irreparable lesion in the enemy's line. Napoleon, in the following words, summed up the problem which had faced Alexander as it faced himself: "A great leader must ask himself many times a day: If the enemy appear on my front, my right or my left, what should I do? If he finds that he cannot answer that question he has chosen his ground wrongly." It was because Alexander had always chosen his ground rightly that from the throne of Macedon he ascended the throne of the world.

In closing this sketch we may now ask, What effect upon a man's character has the concentration in his hands of such power as Alexander's? It was the belief of the Greeks that moderate success was the lot for which the human being was best fitted, and that if he attempted to grow too great he only brought upon himself the anger of the gods. Alexander must have frequently remembered the ethics which Aristotle had taught him, and as a student of Aeschylus he was familiar with the conception of those Fates and Dooms which accompany Man on his earthly journey.

As in the careers of Caesar and Napoleon, we observe in his career that the

advance to supreme power was overshadowed by increasing suspicion and by the fear of conspiracy.

In the case of Alexander it is useless to attempt to idealize him as Mommsen idealized Caesar. His errors are known to us. In his reprisals against individuals as well as against states he frequently betrayed the terrible vindictiveness which was characteristic of his age. Nevertheless, he appears to have withstood many of the temptations which attend unlimited power, and he remained human throughout.

Certain it is that he had become orientalized and that after his contact with the East his habits and ideas became more grandiose than they could have been if he had remained the king of a small Greek state like Macedon. To the disgust of his followers he assumed the Persian dress, and introduced the Persian court etiquette, which required prostration in the monarch's presence. But the reasons were largely political. He was eager to begin the work of reconstruction and reconciliation and to identify himself for that purpose with the East as well as with the West. But there is no doubt that a mist of suspicion and distrust arose between Alexander and certain of his Greek companions, who misunderstood the psychological change which had taken place in him.

Philotas, the commander of the cavalry, and the son of Parmenio, the old chief of staff, was convicted of conspiring against the king's life, and was executed. Even Parmenio was put to death, and we do not know if he was guilty. If he was innocent it is impossible to forgive Alexander. But conspiracy was in the air, and at that juncture, while the great campaign was not yet completed, it was impossible to be lenient. The severest discipline was necessary because the fate of the army depended on the preservation of the king's life.

To the end Alexander retained the affection of his army. That he never lost his robust character and his self-denial even amid the luxuries of the East is proved by the following incident: During a march in the torrid light and heat of Asia, men and horses were maddened by thirst as they passed through a waterless tract. A small quantity of water had, however, been found, and some of the soldiers brought it in a helmet to Alexander. He took the helmet, but when he looked round and saw the eager eyes of his soldiers fixed on the water he refused to drink, and said: "If I alone were to drink, these horsemen of mine would lose heart." This was the spirit which he had displayed throughout the long campaign which had lasted during thirteen years.

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS: THEIR TRIUMPHS AND FAILURES

FRUITS OF THE GREEK GENIUS AT WORK UPON THE PROBLEMS OF LOGIC METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS

EDWYN R. BEVAN, M.A., Hon. D.Litt.

Lecturer on Hellenistic History and Literature, King's College, London, 1922-1933; Author of 'Stoics and Sceptics,' 'Later Greek Religion,' etc.

It is our purpose here to trace the course of Greek philosophy, of which all our European philosophy is the continuation. Science and philosophy, however, were not originally distinct; the man described as a "philosopher" was also the man who attempted to give a scientific explanation of the phenomena of the world.

The word *philo-sophos* in Greek means "lover of wisdom." The early Ionian speculators to be spoken of presently were apparently not called philosophers but wise men, *sophoi* or *sophistai.* The terms "philosophos," "philosophia," seem to have started in Pythagorean circles, and from the fifth century B.C. onwards "philosophos" was the ordinary word used in the Greek world to describe the man who devoted himself to speculation about the universe and about human good and evil.

It must be remembered that when Greeks set out to discover the explanation of the world, they were confronted with a strange doubleness in the things around them, and in themselves. There were, on the one hand, all the lifeless material things which could never be seen moving except when something outside them made them move, and which, when they were once set in motion, went on moving by fixed mechanical laws, without varying the movement by any will of their own—such as stones or logs of wood. There were also the living things which moved by some force within them, especially human beings, who moved themselves under the impulse of non-material things, such as desires and emotions and judgements of what was good and evil, and whose movements were indefinitely variable by their own choice. Movement of these two kinds, mechanical movement and voluntary movement, was a matter of everyday experience. And when they looked at the great moving world as a whole—the movement of the stars so impressively regular, the movement of all things on the earth, rivers and winds and fire—men had to decide whether to regard all these movements as being like those of animal life, or like those of a dead stone.

The old mythological explanations of the world which came down to the sixth-century Greeks from earlier generations had introduced the personal agency of supposed divine beings. The epoch-making step taken by the Ionian speculators in the sixth century is that they set out to find an explanation for the world which did not introduce superhuman intelligent activity, but only mechanical, invariable law. The essential characteristic of Greek civilization, as it then declared itself, was rationalism, and the rationalism which is one distinctive element in modern Western civilization is simply the development of a process of thought which was begun by the ancient Greeks.

Yet one cannot understand the problem which the Greek philosophers had to solve unless one sees its later aspect. It is quite plain to us today that a great part of the world really is governed by fixed mechanical law, and with regard to all that part of the world science can make progress only so far as it rules out any supposition of spiritual agency. For science deals with that which is strictly measurable and calculable. It is in regard to the material world that science has been so marvellously successful and given Western man today so unprecedented a command over physical forces. That is the splendid

fruit of Greek rationalism. But all the time the human spirit has been at work as well as material forces; and the operations of the human spirit, the moving of matter as a consequence of desire and thought and will, still today await a satisfactory rational explanation. We can understand, then, how the ancient Greek thinkers who set out to find a rationalist explanation for the world soon found themselves still under the necessity of somehow bringing in Mind.

At the outset those thinkers had no clear conception of the difference between mind and matter. They were capable of fancying that the soul inside Man was a material substance, a sort of air or fire. For the movement of the world as a whole the early Ionian philosophers thought a mechanical explanation sufficient. The movement was, they said, an endless circular movement, like that of a whirlwind or an eddy. From that cosmic whirl—"dinos" in Greek—all lesser movements in the world ultimately came. Such a hypothesis obviated the necessity of supposing any Divine Person behind the universe.

When Heracleitus of Ephesus (c. 540-475 B.C.) made fire the essential stuff in all things, he chose the element which might seem to be of its own nature perpetually in movement, and since Heracleitus thought that souls also were fire of a particularly "dry" quality (the drier the better), one may say that in a way he thought of the movement of the world as like the movement caused by soul. Only, because thought in that phase still identified mind and matter, one cannot say that his explanation of the world was either spiritual or material.

With Pythagoras (born about 582 B.C.) a new conception came in, derived from the "mystical" religious movement which was then sweeping through the Greek world. The essential idea of the Orphic and other similar communities was that the soul in Man was a divine being which had become imprisoned, or entombed, in the unclean body, and that the sinful soul, even after death, would always be condemned to another incarnation, so that only by purifications of some kind could the soul win free and return to its divine home. Ideas of this sort were adopted by Pythagoras and embodied in the Pythagorean brotherhoods. Such ideas were to become an abiding element in later Greek thought.

The Sicilian Empedocles (c. 500 to 430 B.C.), taught a similar doctrine about a fall of the soul and deliverance by purifications; and in his great philosophic poem he expounded a theory of the world which came nearer to bringing in spiritual agency. The matter of the world, he taught, consisted of various mixtures of the four elements, Earth, Air, Fire and Water (Empedocles was the first to introduce the doctrine of the four elements into Greek scientific tradition), and the movement of the world was caused by the operation of two antagonistic principles, Love and Strife. Through a series of cycles without end the world went from a state in which Love dominated to a state in which Strife dominated, and again from the state of Strife to the state of Love, and so on for ever. When Love dominated all the four elements were mixed up together; when Strife dominated each of the four formed a mass apart from the others. This might seem to be definitely spiritual agency, for Love and Strife belong to spirit and not to matter; yet Empedocles sometimes speaks as if they were a kind of fluid substance, two additional elements besides the four, showing that he had not arrived at conceiving something really immaterial.

His elder contemporary, another great Ionian, Anaxagoras (his expulsion from Athens was about 450 B.C.), came nearer still to conceiving a definitely spiritual reality behind the world. The famous sentence in his book said that "when the matter of the world was all mixed up in confusion, Mind came and put it in order"—the order that we see.

But even Anaxagoras does not seem to have got quite free from the conception of mind as a kind of matter. While in the stuff of the world, Anaxagoras said, opposites such as heat and cold, black and white, were mixed together (snow, for instance, contained minute particles of black), the characteristic of mind was that it was all of one quality, unmixed.

The speculations of a South Italian Greek, Parmenides (born c. 515 B.C.), had a great effect on later thought. The theory of Parmenides was that in reality the world consisted of one uniform mass without any distinctions between this part and

that, and without any possibility of movement. If we saw round us a multiplicity of different things and saw bodies moving in space, that was all an illusion of the senses.

The school of Parmenides, called the Eleatic School (from the city of Elea in South Italy, to which Parmenides belonged), carried on his doctrine, especially his disciple Zeno (born c. 489 B.C.). Logical argument was in those days like a new discovery, with which people delighted to produce astonishing results. Zeno proved—or thought that he proved—that, although you saw motion everywhere, nevertheless, if you once began to reason about motion you were involved in all kinds of absurdities.

One of his puzzles concerned Achilles and the tortoise: if Achilles and a tortoise were to race, and the tortoise had a start, Achilles could never draw level with it; for, by the time that Achilles had reached the tortoise's starting point, it would have advanced to a farther point; and by the time that Achilles had reached this point, the tortoise would have gone farther, and so on ad infinitum.

One effect of this use of logic to overthrow established belief was an unsettlement of men's minds everywhere. In the later part of the fifth century the people called "sophists" (professors of wisdom) were ready to show that all old ideas of right and wrong were absurd. The Eleatic philosophy had familiarized men with the idea that all the appearances of the world might be a false illusion. And the philosophy of Democritus (c. 470-400 B.C.) also had a somewhat similar effect, whatever Democritus himself may have intended. For Democritus made a distinction between that which really was (as the Greek expressed it, was "by nature")—the atoms and void; and that which was only "by convention"—qualities of things such as "sweetness" and "heat." This distinction between "nature" and "convention" the sophists could apply to right and wrong. The recognized difference between justice and injustice, for instance, the sophists could represent as a pure convention of society, without reality.

Then it was that an Athenian came forward who was to make a new epoch in the thought of the world, and constitute Athens the chief seat of philosophy for nearly a thousand years. This man was

FATHER OF PHILOSOPHY

This statuette of Socrates dates from the end of the fourth century B.C., and is therefore separated from his death (399) by nearly a century. Nevertheless, it is a copy of an earlier work, and we may be sure that in it we have a faithful representation of the lovable, snub-nosed philosopher.

British Museum

Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus (470-399 B.C.). He made no claim himself to wisdom, but he was a philosopher in the sense that he loved wisdom as few other men have ever loved it. He had no school, and never taught, like the sophists, for pay. But he spent his time—or all the time when he was not doing his duty to the state as soldier or magistrate—in going

about among all sorts and conditions of men and asking them questions. He left no writings, and it must always be a matter of some doubt what positive teaching of his own he put forward. But he was a conspicuous personality in the Athens of his day, and the strange stimulus he gave to the minds of men was such that from him, directly or indirectly, all the later schools of Greek philosophy were derived.

What we know of Socrates we know through the writings of his disciples, chiefly those of the greatest, Plato. In most of Plato's Dialogues Socrates is the chief speaker, and if we never can draw the line with any certainty between what Plato reported of the doctrine of his master and what Plato put into his mouth, we can be sure at any rate that the personality, the manner, of the real Socrates was such as we see it in Plato's Dialogues. For the portrait there has such a strong individual character that it can never have been presented to a generation many of whom had known Socrates in life if it had not been true.

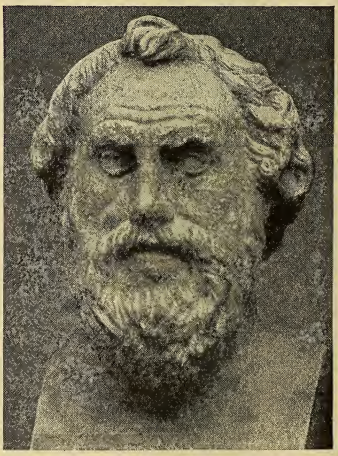
Socrates practised hardness in his own habits, went barefoot in the snow and showed a self-control which astonished the Greeks of his time, though, mixing as he did in all society, he was capable of sitting at a banquet with young men and drinking with them all through the night. One of the things which distinguished Socrates from previous philosophers was that he was little concerned with theories about the universe, but set, with all the curious strength of his personality, upon discovering what was good and bad in human conduct. It was about this that he cross-examined everyone—asking what justice really was, what temperance was, what courage was.

The effect of his questioning was to involve the answerer in self-contradictions and show that the current ideas about these things were confused and unsatisfactory. He often made people look foolish, but yet they were arrested by his moral earnestness—a moral earnestness which went with a characteristic humor and playfulness. What was known as the Socratic *eironeia* was not exactly "irony" in our modern sense, but an engaging naïveté and humility which disclaimed any wisdom or knowledge for the questioner himself.

Behind all his conduct and utterance there was an intense religious conviction. He believed that he had a mission assigned "by God," and he believed that he sometimes felt an inner control, a divine voice, as it were, in his heart, which checked him when he was about to make a wrong decision.

In the end Socrates was put to death by sentence of an Athenian law-court on the charge that he was introducing new divinities and corrupting the morals of young men (399 B.C.) but the motive of the crime was political rather than religious.

Two of the philosophic schools which owed their inception to the stimulating influence of Socrates were the Cynic school and the Cyrenaic school. "Cynic" in Greek means "doggish," and the members of this group were commonly called "dogs" (*kynes*); the founder was Antisthenes (c. 440-370 B.C.). What had most impressed him about Socrates was his independence of material amenities and comforts. Most men were unhappy, the Cynics maintained, because they depended upon things which they often could not get—good food, good



FIRST OF THE CYNICS

A pupil who attended Socrates in his last moments, Antisthenes founded the Cynic school of philosophy that preached independence of the material comforts of life as being the only road to peace and happiness for Mankind.

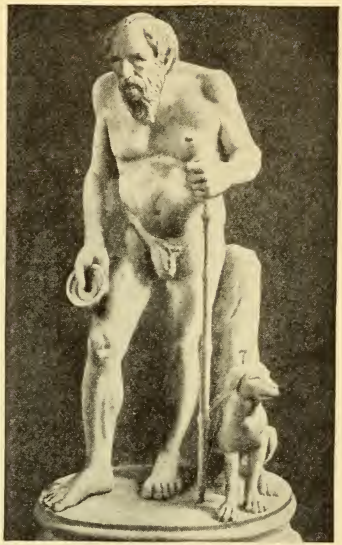
Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

clothes, etc.—and because they were in bondage to all sorts of social conventions. Men would be happy and free if they reduced life to the extreme of simplicity, to the nearest approach to the life of animals, of "dogs."

Like dogs, the followers of Antisthenes had no house, but slept in the temple porticoes, or in winter perhaps in the public bath-houses; lived on scraps which anyone could pick up, and refused to be bothered by considerations of decency in the performance of any natural function. They also made it a great part of their business to preach in streets and market-places to the multitude, holding all the common vices of men up to contempt with a brutal plainness of speech. The most famous disciple of Antisthenes was Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412-323 B.C.).

The Cyrenaic school declared that the one reasonable thing to aim at in all action was pleasure. It was called Cyrenaic after its founder, Aristippus of Cyrene (the dates of his birth and death are unknown; he was in Athens before 399 and still alive in 366). Really the two schools had a great deal in common. Both aimed at making men independent of fortune, but Aristippus taught that this could be achieved if the individual got out of every moment, the full amount of pleasure it could be made to yield, and yet never allowed himself to become so dependent upon anything as to mind if it were taken away from him. "Enjoy thoroughly what is there, and do not be bothered about the morrow" was his gospel. Few people, however, would have disapproved of the views of Aristippus more strongly than Socrates.

The greatest of Socrates' disciples was also one of the greatest philosophers of the world: Plato (born 427 B.C.). Like Socrates, Plato was an Athenian; unlike Socrates, he was connected by blood with the great aristocratic families of Athens. As many another young man of that class, Plato had been drawn to one who was not only so delightful a companion to young men, but who had that strange faculty of quickening spiritual life. Some years after his master's death, Plato set up a school of philosophic studies in the neighborhood of Athens, near a beautiful grove dedicated to a mythical hero called Academus. For this reason the school founded by Plato was later known as the "Academy"



DIOGENES THE SURLY

Whether Diogenes of Sinope, the famous pupil of Antisthenes who carried his master's theory to even greater lengths, ever actually dwelt in a barrel or an earthenware jar is doubtful; but the story well accords with the figure here portrayed.

British Museum

(*Akademeia*); it lasted for nearly nine centuries, till the pagan schools were abolished by the Emperor Justinian (A.D. 529).

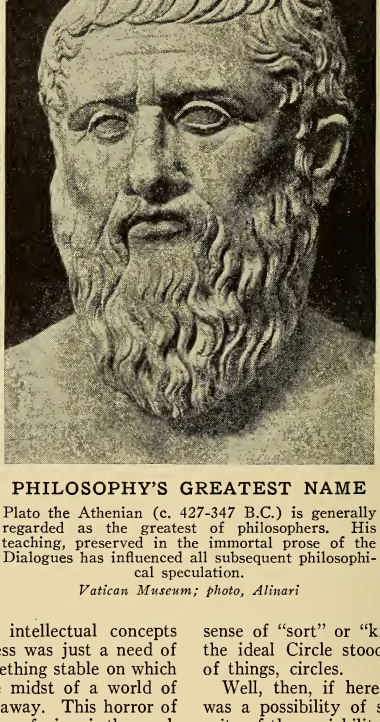
Plato is the first Greek philosopher whose written works have come down to us apparently complete—that series of Dialogues which remain one of the greatest achievements in the literature of Mankind. Yet, curiously, we find Plato himself saying, in a letter which is probably authentic, that he had never put forth in writing a statement of his philosophy. This must mean that his systematic teaching was given by word of mouth in the Academy to his disciples.

In his Dialogues he does not speak himself—unless perhaps he is the "Athenian Stranger" in "The Laws." He takes up certain questions and lets discussion

in an imaginary conversation play round them, showing their bearings and their implications, putting tentative solutions of them into the mouth of someone else, generally of Socrates.

It is not only the unsystematic way in which Plato's philosophy is presented to us that makes it hard to give an account of it. The difficulty also comes from the interplay of different kinds of interest in Plato's genius. He was more than a philosopher who had an intellectual interest of extraordinary intensity; he was also essentially an imaginative poet, with a strong and humorous dramatic gift, a master of literary form, and, above all, a man with a mystical religious craving which sought a satisfaction that was far more than merely intellectual.

Probably the mystical craving was the deepest motive in Plato's philosophy—a craving which in him did seek its satisfaction largely in a system of intellectual concepts, even if it reached beyond the intellect. The thing which drove him to look for stable intellectual concepts with such earnestness was just a need of the soul to find something stable on which it could rest in the midst of a world of change and passing away. This horror of change, of manifold confusion, is the mark of the mystical temperament which seeks to fly from the transient to the eternal, from change to changelessness. Plato, because of his vivid intellectual interest, felt the horror of change, especially with regard to the desire to know. We could not really know things which were always changing like the objects of our sense-experience. They slipped away in the midst of our attempt to grasp them. And here help seemed to come from geometry. For in geometry we could acquire knowledge about the properties of figures which was absolutely firm and stable, and quite independent of the imperfections of any figure we might draw on paper or sand. The circle of which geometry spoke was not any visible circle—for no visible circle was an absolutely perfect circle—it was the ideal circle. And yet the ideal circle did not belong to a world of merely human imagination. For the things which geometry said were true of "the Circle" really were true, whether men apprehended them or not.



PHILOSOPHY'S GREATEST NAME

Plato the Athenian (c. 427-347 B.C.) is generally regarded as the greatest of philosophers. His teaching, preserved in the immortal prose of the Dialogues has influenced all subsequent philosophical speculation.

Vatican Museum; photo, Alinari

The word Plato applied to this perfect circle and to other similar entities, was "idea" (or *eidos*), which meant "shape" or "figure." But the word was also used in the sense of "sort" or "kind." In this sense the ideal Circle stood for a whole class of things, circles.

Well, then, if here in geometry there was a possibility of stable knowledge in spite of the variability of things seen and handled, it seemed to Plato that, by laying hold on the idea, real knowledge in other fields could be gained in the same way. There must be an "idea" of Man, to

which all men in our world approximated more or less nearly; there must be an "idea" of Justice to which our conceptions of justice approximated.

This was the famous Platonic doctrine of ideas. And it is important to grasp that idea means here something quite different from what we understand by the word. For we use the word "idea" to mean something which exists only in the human mind, but Plato used the word to mean that which had real existence apart from the human mind.

The world of the ideas was spiritual, not material. With Plato at last Greek thought has arrived at a clear distinction between spiritual and material existence. But if Man could rise in thought from this transient world of the senses to that world which abides eternally there must be in Man, too, something immortal. And here Plato was no doubt influenced by the Orphic idea of the soul as a divine being imprisoned temporarily in a body. Plato held earnestly that each man's soul had existed before his birth, sometimes in the unseen world, sometimes in other bodies, of men or animals, in this world, and that after death it will go on existing through a series of lives to come.

IN PHILOSOPHY'S GARDEN

This mosaic from Pompeii is thought by some to represent Plato teaching in his Academy at Athens. In 1933 the actual site was located and the footings of the outer wall revealed by excavation.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Alinari

With his belief in the immortality of the soul Plato coupled a conviction that according as men lived righteously or unrighteously, purely or sensually, they would be happy or miserable in the world beyond death.

These beliefs gave to Plato's philosophy an intense moral earnestness. He hated injustice and sensuality, all that made men's lives disorderly and unstable and unclean. Hence it was not enough for him that the reality behind the variable world should be eternal and changeless; it must be good as well. The supreme idea of all, that from which all other ideas, and hence all things in the world, drew their being was the Idea of the Good. The only satisfactory reason for the existence of anything in the world, or of the world as a whole, was that it was *best* that it should be. In his last long book, "The Laws," written when he was old, his "Athenian Stranger" argues with passion that all the processes of the world must have a spiritual origin. In an earlier work, "The Timaeus," where the Pythagorean speaker had described the dependence of the world upon God by a "myth" describing how the world began, it is said God made the world because He was good and generous, and so desired to call into being something that would be an image of Himself.

Some of Plato's writing deals with the best form for a Greek city state, since the whole life of the Greeks was so essentially conditioned by their city states that it would have been impossible at that time to draw a pattern for the conduct of the individual without considering the pattern for the state. Plato disliked democracy as he had seen it at Athens; it meant for him the things he hated—agitation, disorder, noisy ignorance, indefinite variability, the killing of Socrates. He disliked still more the rule of the lawless despot. His ideal was a state remote from the demoralizing influences of commerce, in which an established order worked generation after generation, with a regularity like that of

the stars, in which the citizens were distributed in fixed classes according to function, and an aristocracy of the wisest ruled—all clear and clean and beautiful.

Eleven years after Plato's death one of his disciples set up a rival school at Athens in a gymnasium called the Lyceum (after Apollo Lyceus, to whom it was dedicated). This man was Aristotle (384 to 322 B.C.). He was an alien in Athens, being a citizen of Stagirus on the confines of Macedonia, and in the interval after Plato's death he had been engaged by the Macedonian king as tutor to his son, afterwards known as Alexander the Great. Since the part of the gymnasium where Aristotle taught was a kind of covered colonnade called a *peripatos* (walk), those who afterwards followed Aristotle's philosophy were called Peripatetics. Aristotle always professed a great personal regard for his master, Plato, but in many ways he came to disagree with him and seems in his writings to seize opportunities of picking Plato to pieces. Plato and Aristotle, indeed, were of very different casts of mind. Both philosophers had a great part in shaping Christian thought. At first the influence of Plato was predominant, but in the thirteenth century Aristotle became "the Philosopher" for the "Schoolmen," whose philosophy is still the philosophy of the Roman Church.

Aristotle was a drier, less poetic nature than his master. Plato's strong point had been mathematics; Aristotle's strong point was biology. For Plato all philosophy had appeared as one: all sciences, if philosophy knew its business, could be deduced from the Idea of the Good. Aristotle divided philosophy into a number of independent branches. The first great division was between "theoretical" and "practical" philosophy—between the philosophy which studied things as they were with the simple purpose of recognizing them, and the philosophy which studied such things as human will can change and shape, with the purpose of fashioning them rightly.

Theoretical philosophy had three subdivisions: "First Philosophy," which inquired into the ultimate ground of the universe, what "being" meant, what God was; Mathematics, which inquired into being so far as it was determined by number and geometrical form; and Physics, which studied such objects as were material and capable of motion. Practical philosophy for Aristotle meant mainly "Politics," that is, the study of the right conduct of Man in society. "Ethics," the theory of individual conduct, was for him only a branch of "Politics." But besides thus dividing up philosophy according to its subject-matter, Aristotle devoted a number of works to the study of the processes of reasoning and proof which were used by the mind as an "instrument" in all branches of philosophy—to what today we call Logic.

ARISTOTLE'S works on Logic were included as a whole under the name Organon ("Instrument"). What the textbooks up to modern times call Formal Logic is simply the Aristotelian Logic, modified and extended in some ways during Roman times or in the Middle Ages. The establishment of the syllogism as the perfect type of reasoning goes back to Aristotle.

In his general theory of knowledge Aristotle did not depart so far from Plato as might appear from his criticisms of Platonism. For Aristotle, too, real knowledge is knowledge of "universals," not of the particular things we can see and handle, and the ultimate principles of the several sciences which cannot be proved by deduction from anything else are apprehended by the mind in direct intuition, apart from sense-perception.

With regard to "First Philosophy"—which in later time got the name of Metaphysics, because the books of Aristotle which dealt with it came in the school arrangement of his writings *after* the "Physics" (*meta ta physika*)—Aristotle's theory of the world is built on two contrasts which occur over and over again in his writings—the contrast between matter and form, and the contrast between potentiality ("power") and actuality ("energy"). Matter does not mean matter in the sense given to the word by modern science: it means the stuff of any particular thing in contrast to the sum of properties which give it its specific character, and for which Aristotle used the word *eidos,* form, the same word which Plato had used for his ideas. For instance, a bowl and a trumpet may have the same "matter," copper, but the different "form" makes one a bowl and the other a trumpet. Of course, copper has a form of its

own in contrast to the matter which it has in common with other metals, and Aristotle holds that we can never get back to pure matter without any form at all. Such a thing does not exist.

The parallel contrast between potentiality and actuality is drawn from the process of vital development going on all round us in Nature—the acorn potentially an oak becoming an oak in actuality when the form of the oak tree has been imposed upon the vegetable matter. In Aristotle there was, for all his determination to be sober and prosaic, a strain of mysticism, which made him see things everywhere striving, as it were, after a perfection they do not at the beginning possess. The process by which things moved from potentiality to actuality Aristotle called "motion," the term covering with him much more than the movement of a body in space. That which set a process going he called the "efficient cause"—the father, for instance, in the production of any individual of an animal species. And these processes, he held, had been going on from eternity: the world had no beginning and would have no end. The problem, "Which came first, the first hen or the first egg?" did not arise, Aristotle would have said, because there had never been a first hen or egg: the series of hens and eggs extended backwards to infinity.

With regard to astronomy and to Physics, Aristotle marks a step backward from Plato. Plato had taught that the earth moved, and that it was not at the centre of the universe; he had also taught that the traditional four elements were not to be regarded as forms of matter incapable of further analysis. Aristotle, put the earth once more unmoving at the centre, and he held that the analysis of matter must stop at the four elements. The earth was surrounded by a number of concentric moving spheres, the sphere of the moon nearest to the earth, the sphere of the fixed stars outermost. The movement of the world as a whole was derived from the movement of the outermost sphere, which was, therefore, called the Primum Mobile, the "First Moved." Aristotle's astronomical scheme remained dominant for later antiquity and for the Middle Ages, with certain modifications in detail. The false theories established by his authority were thus the great hindrance to any advance in astronomical science till the days of Copernicus.

We now return to "First Philosophy" to learn Aristotle's explanation what it was that caused the "First Moved" to move. This was God, who was pure actuality, form without any matter at all. But Aristotle strongly insisted (against Plato) that it was unnecessary for the cause which moved something else to move itself. God was the *unmoved* Mover. And God did not move the world by any act of His

FOUNDER OF THE LYCEUM

In Greek philosophy the name of Aristotle is only second to Plato's and his influence has been perhaps as great. Primarily a logician, he excelled in the realm of biology.

Hof Museum, Vienna; Dellbrück, 'Antike Porträts'

will. It was far beneath His dignity to take any account of the world, which was material. The world was drawn after Him, in Aristotle's famous phrase, as the lover is drawn after the beloved. Not "God so loved the world" but "the world so loved God." In this strange transcendental dream the philosophy of the man who set out to be matter-of-fact culminated!

In Aristotle's theory of the human soul also he makes at the end an odd leap into mysticism. After his argument has apparently gone to show that the soul is nothing but the full development of the vital

functions of the organism, so that the soul would seemingly be inseparable from the body, he suddenly throws in some dark words about an intelligence which is separate from matter, imperishable, engaged eternally in thinking, and says that thought in a human individual could not go on apart from this mysterious "active intelligence."

Aristotle's great contributions to knowledge were in logic and biology, though even in biology on one important point Plato had been right and Aristotle went wrong (the connection of the brain with thought). In politics Aristotle's interest centred on the city state of the Greeks. In his theory of individual conduct he again ends up in mysticism. The highest activities of men, he says, are not in the moral sphere, but in the intellectual. It would be absurd to think of the gods as moral; and in the detached contemplation of truth and beauty Man enters, so far as it is possible to do under human conditions, into a life more than human, the life of God.

Aristotle lived, as has just been said, to see the transformation of the Nearer East brought about by the conquests (333-323 B.C.) of his former pupil, Alexander the Great. After this all the countries which had been subject to the Persian king, as far as India, became subject to kings of Greek culture. To Greek enterprise these countries were now thrown open, and Greek cities began to come into being at all the critical points of communication over Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia.

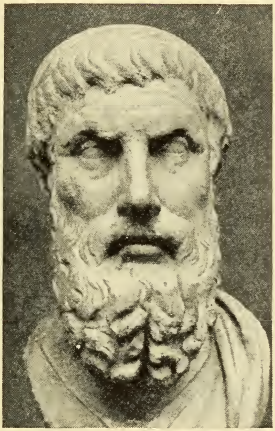
Drawn away from the tradition of their old communities, excited with indefinite prospects of power and gain, the men of the Greek world began to lose their moral bearings, to plunge into egoistic adventure and to feel that the only power ruling human affairs was incalculable luck. In such a state of things there came to be a much more general need for a guide of life, a clear doctrine regarding that which it was good for the children of men to pursue all their days under the sun. Philosophy had to become more practical and popular, to go out from the schools into the marketplace. The schools of Plato and Aristotle still continued at Athens, but new philosophies began to attract men in the world at large.

The new philosophy of largest influence was that of the Stoics. It had its name from the Painted "Porch" (Stoa, that is "colonnade") at Athens where its founder had taught. He was a Phoenician Cypriote called Zeno (c. 340-264 B.C.), and his teaching was developed by his successors at Athens—Cleanthes (c. 300-220 B.C.), a Greek from Asia Minor, and Chrysippus (280-207 B.C.) a Cilician Greek. The object of the Stoic philosophy was to give men deliverance from the fears and the desires which made the majority of them miserable by showing that the only real good was completely within the reach of anyone who willed to have it; because the only real good was a good will, and that good it was within anyone's power to have, if he would. So long as our happiness depended on anything over which we had no control, we were bound to experience anxiety and disappointment, but if our happiness was within ourselves, we were absolutely independent of outside circumstances. Chance could not touch us. All the circumstances outside our own control were things ordained by God—by Zeus, the Stoics habitually said, using for God the traditional name of the chief god of the Greeks—and the Stoic wise man so identified his own will with the will of God that nothing which happened to him, however painful, was contrary to what he chose himself.

But in order that a man might so joyfully accept the course of things, the Stoics taught that the God who governed the universe was perfect Reason. In fact, they said that the universe was God. And God was a material substance; for the Stoics went back from the Platonic apprehension of an immaterial spiritual mode of being and maintained that nothing which was not material "body" existed. Only, unlike modern materialists, they endowed God's material substance with the properties of spirit. God, they said, in His proper being was a kind of fiery gas—fire, aether, breath—but this fire was conscious, was pure Reason. The universe passed continually backwards and forwards from one condition to another. Sometimes the Divine Fire, God, existed alone; then part of the Divine Fire turned into passive matter—air, water, earth—and a world such as that we live in came about.

But part of the Divine Fire remained as a kind of envelope all round the world, and pervaded the matter of the world, directing its whole course according to the divine plan. So that when you spoke of destiny or providence or Nature, these were only other names for God.

The views of the Stoics were thus essentially religious, though they differed so much from the popular polytheism. But the Stoics were very anxious not to break with the popular religion. They, therefore, explained all the traditional mythology about the multitude of gods as allegories of the truth, and were ready on that ground to justify even the crude obscenities of Greek paganism against which Plato and his followers vigorously protested. It is unquestionable that, although many preachers of Stoicism were impostors, Stoicism produced through the succeeding centuries some men of impressive goodness and moral strength. For us today the greatest exponents of Stoicism are Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.



RESOLVER OF FEARS

Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) sought to banish fear by disproving supernatural interference in the world and denying a future life.

Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

The school of Epicurus (341-270 B.C.) was in many ways diametrically opposed to the Stoics. Epicurus was an Athenian; He, too, aimed at delivering men from vain fear and desire, but he took a different way. We should ask, he said, what really constitutes happiness; and he found it in a level, untroubled cheerfulness. Pleasure, or at any rate the absence of its opposite, pain, was the one thing that mattered; and that was easily secured if people would only limit their desires to simple enjoyments. Men were made miserable unnecessarily by following vain-glorious ambitions and sensual pleasures, which brought more discomfort than happiness.

Two great fears, it seemed to Epicurus, were fear of the gods and fear of what would happen to the soul after death. The gospel of Epicurus was that no part of the process of Nature was caused by divine superhuman beings. Everything, our souls included, was a chance conglomeration of atoms. There were an infinite number of atoms rushing always "downwards" through infinite space, colliding and rebounding, and so forming an infinite number of worlds, each of which lasted only for a time, till it was destroyed again by the rush of the atom-stream, and so on through infinite time. And as for fears of what came after death, nothing came; for the soul was dissipated "like smoke."

Yet Epicurus taught that gods existed in the empty spaces between the worlds, perfectly beautiful and happy beings, in a form like the human, and talking Greek. Only their life of bliss was free from any concern for the world; they did nothing in the world and prayers could not reach them; but the images of their loveliness could float down to men in dreams, and men could adore them in aesthetic contemplation, pure admiration, without any thought of punishment or reward. The great exposition of Epicureanism for us is the noble poem of the Roman Lucretius.

Both Stoicism and Epicureanism were dogmatic philosophies, but there were also philosophers called Sceptics, who denied that anything could be known at all of what lay outside the range of the senses. Pyrrho of Elis (360-270 B.C.?) was regarded as the first Sceptic teacher, hence Pyrrhonism is sometimes used as an equivalent to Scepticism. The Sceptics were concerned to question, not to establish anything positive, or to deny.

They tried to show that whatever argument might be brought forward to prove or disprove any dogma, there were also just as strong arguments on the other side. The wise man, therefore, they said, would never commit himself to any opinion about anything except what he actually saw and felt. As his rule of life he would just follow the usages of society—perform the usual acts of homage to the gods without any opinion whether there were any gods or not, observe the established code of conduct, without any opinion whether it was good or not. Scepticism never had the vogue of the dogmatic philosophies. Some of its arguments were important when Paganism had to defend itself against Christianity. When the Christians argued that Pagan religious beliefs were absurd, the Sceptic could reply that since no knowledge of these things was possible, it was best for men to do as their ancestors had previously done.

THE GREEKS AND SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY

WHAT THEY HAD ACHIEVED BY DARING SPECULATION AND EXPERIMENT DOWN TO THE ALEXANDRINE AGE

CHARLES SINGER, M.D., D.Litt., D.Sc.

Professor of the History of Medicine in the University of London; Author of 'Greek Biology and Greek Medicine,' 'A Short History of Biology,' etc.

THE science of antiquity is Greek science. It is true that the Greeks, like all other peoples that have ever been, drew upon their predecessors for some of their knowledge and some of their ideas. It is true that modern research has shown that the civilizations of Mesopotamia, of Egypt, of Persia, of the Minoan world were all of them ancestors of the Hellenic civilization. It is true that mathematics, astronomy, medicine were all cultivated in those ancient empires, and it is also true that the mathematics, the astronomy and the medicine of the Greeks owe a debt to Mesopotamia, to Egypt, to Persia and to Crete. Yet the Greek intellect made a difference in these departments of knowledge which utterly transformed them.

In the more ancient Oriental civilizations knowledge was collected for practical ends. Men needed to measure their land, to ascertain the exact date for sowing and reaping, to placate their gods, to divide time, to treat disease, to avoid bewitchment, to meet the thousand adventures of daily life. Knowledge may advance far for such reasons as these, but can never truly become science. Science, as its name implies, is knowledge ("scientia"), and knowledge pure and simple.

For men to accumulate knowledge thus they must be convinced—as the Greeks were convinced and the men of the great Oriental empires were not convinced—that such knowledge has a reality outside their own minds.

Among the Greeks the origins of science were not in the land we now call Greece, but in certain outlying districts. The main impact of the Hellenic immigration had fallen upon the Greek peninsula itself, but streams of invading tribes passed by the sea coasts and the islands to western Asia Minor, and the subsequent development of these colonists was of the utmost importance for the history of Greek thought. Chief among these Asiatic Greeks were the Ionians, who colonized the shores from Ephesus in the north to Halicarnassus in the south. Yet farther south settled the Dorians. It was among the Ionians that the first great intellectual impulse of a scientific character arose. Dorian elements also crept in at an early date.

We discern science in recognizable form emerging into the light of historic day in Thales, a salt merchant who lived at Miletus on the western shores of Asia Minor from 624 to about 545 B.C. In the course of his business he visited Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Mesopotamia he learned of the so-called Saronic cycle—that is, the interval of eighteen years and eleven days which the observations of ages by the Babylonian temple star-gazers had shown to be a not unusual interval between eclipses of the sun. This knowledge enabled him to forecast an eclipse visible at his native Miletus on May 28, 585 B.C.

The further achievements of Thales were chiefly in the department of geometry. Now, it is important here to recall that the Greeks did not invent geometry; they could and did gather some knowledge of the subject from their neighbors in the Nile valley. The Egyptians, however, had attained only to an empirical knowledge of certain special relations of figures and especially of triangles and rectangles. Thus, for instance, the Egyptians knew that the square on the longest side of a right-angled triangle is equal

to the sum of the squares on the other two sides; but they knew it only for the special case in which the sides are in the ratio 3, 4 and 5.

Such knowledge of special cases Thales succeeded in generalizing. Thus he discovered that a circle is bisected by its diameter, that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal, that when two straight lines cut one another the opposite angles are equal, that the angle on the circumference of a circle subtended by the diameter is always a right angle, that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles, and that the sides of triangles with equal angles are proportional.

Moreover, Thales succeeded in applying such knowledge to practical matters. He was able, for instance, to determine the distance from the shore of a ship at sea, and to measure the height of a pyramid by comparing the length of the shadow it cast with the length of the shadow cast by an object of known height.

As with all the Ionian thinkers, the object of the thought of Thales was to find a formula for all things. His real place in the history of science is brought out by the statement that in his mathematical work we have the first enunciation of natural laws—that is to say, expressions of a fixed dependence between different quantities. Thales is, therefore, the father of science.

The general direction of thought started by Thales was continued by his pupil, Anaximander of Miletus (611-547 B.C.). He took much interest in geography, and to him is ascribed the first attempt among the Greeks to represent the details of the surface of the earth by the use of maps. Anaximander introduced the sun-dial from Babylonia. He also introduced among the Greeks the use of the gnomon, a fixed upright rod of which the length and direction of the shadow can be measured day by day, and the movements of the sun as well as the solstices thus determined.

Anaximenes, the successor of Anaximander, also of Miletus, extended his predecessor's work, especially in astronomy. About 530 B.C. he was teaching that the light of the moon is the reflected light of the sun.

From these instances we gather not only that, among the Greeks of Asia Minor towards the end of the sixth century B.C., there was considerable speculative activity, but also that the sum of positive knowledge was being systematically increased. The process was aided by the roving character of the Asiatic Greeks.

Of the early explorers, the most distinguished was Hecataeus of Miletus. He visited not only the whole of Greece but also Egypt, the provinces of the Persian Empire, the coasts of the Black Sea, Thrace and Libya. About 500 B.C. he adventured westward to the Gulf of Genoa and as far as Spain.

Numbered among the great Ionians who themselves dealt exclusively with philosophy was Heracleitus of Ephesus (c. 540-475 B.C.). He is best remembered for his view that "everything is in a state of flux," and that change is the only reality. "There's nothing is and nothing was, but everything's becoming." Fire, the most changeful of elements, he regarded as the origin of all things. Very different from Heracleitus was his younger contemporary, the Milesian Leucippus, who flourished about 475 and was the founder of the atomic doctrine of matter. That theory has had a very wide influence in both ancient and modern times and has often been productive of that attitude towards the world known sometimes as philosophic materialism.

Historically, however, Leucippus is over-shadowed by his pupil, Democritus (about 460 to about 357 B.C.). The birthplace of Democritus is uncertain, and is variously given as Miletus in Ionia and as Abdera in Thrace. He was a contemporary of Socrates, though the outlook of the two men is in the strongest contrast.

To Democritus all things are made up of the atoms and the space, or void, between. This void has as much claim to be regarded as a primary reality as the atoms themselves. The atoms are eternal and invisible, and they are so small that they cannot be divided. The word "atom," indeed, means "indivisible." The atoms are incompressible and homogeneous; they differ from one another only in form, arrangement and size—

that is to say, only in quantity, not in quality. The qualities that we distinguish in things are thus not native to the atoms of which they are composed. The qualities are, it is held, produced by movement of these atoms. Just as atoms are eternal and uncaused, so also is motion, which must, of its nature, originate in preceding motion. As everything is made up of these unchangeable and eternal atoms, it follows that coming into being and passing away are but a seeming. Despite the positive trend of the thought of Democritus, his ultimate followers, known as Epicureans, after Epicurus of Samos (341-270 B.C.), showed little tendency to extend the range of scientific ideas.

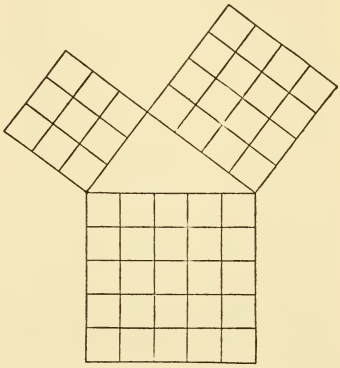
Towards the end of the fifth century B.C. the intellectual life of Greece was passing from Asia to Attica; the life of the Ionian Anaxagoras of Clazomenae marks this change. Anaxagoras left his native home as a young man and went to Athens. There he developed rational theories of many celestial phenomena. He attempted to construct scientific accounts of eclipses, meteors and rainbows. The sun he looked upon as a mass of white-hot metal larger than the Peloponnesian peninsula; other heavenly bodies he regarded as pieces of stone, rendered incandescent by rapid rotation.

Much of the spirit of Ionia is summed up in the life and writings of Herodotus of Halicarnassus (about 484-424 B.C.).

From an early date the inquiring spirit of Herodotus led him to travel. He explored Greece and Asia Minor very thoroughly, visiting many of the islands of the Greek Archipelago. He made the long and difficult journey from Sardis in Lydia near Smyrna to Susa, the Persian capital. He travelled to Babylon, explored the coasts of the Black Sea and penetrated into Scythia and Thrace. His journeys were extended westward and he visited Italy and Sicily. Southward he descended into Syria, sojourned at Tyre, saw something of Palestine and made a long stay in Egypt. He settled finally in a Greek colony in Italy.

In his "History" Herodotus gives us an excellent idea of the geographical knowledge of his day. His careful observations on the nature and habits of men of different races justify us in regarding his work as the first treatise on the science of Man. He is thus the father of anthropology, as he is also the father of history.

Greeks had penetrated westward from a very early date, and had established colonies in southern Italy and in Sicily—Magna Graecia, as the district was called. The schools in this area played a very important part in the history of Greek science; the earliest and the most important of them was that of the Pythagoreans.



QUEST FOR THE UNIVERSAL

The Egyptians knew that the square on the base of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides when the sides are in the proportion 3 : 4 : 5, as shown above. It fell to the Greeks to apply the law to all right-angled triangles.

Pythagoras, the founder of this school or sect, was himself an Ionian; he was born on the island of Samos about 582 B.C. and traveled widely. About 529 he settled in the city of Croton, where a Dorian colony had been established. Here he founded his brotherhood or sect, which persisted long after him.

Out of the hazy philosophical outlook of the Pythagoreans there emerge certain ideas which have had a profound influence. Foremost is their peculiar teaching on the subject of numbers. These were held to have a real and separate existence outside our minds. The use by the Greeks, as by the Hebrews, of letters to express numbers gave an especial cur-

rency to this conception, which received all sorts of mystical and magical application. An instance will readily come to the mind in connection with the number of the beast in the Book of Revelation.

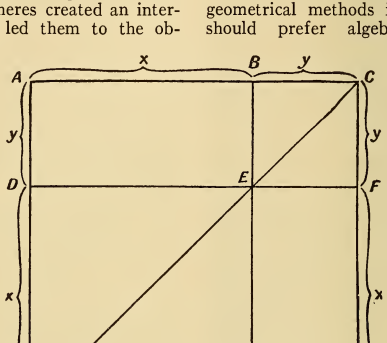
The word "mathematics" itself—which means simply "learning"—was given its special relationship to numbers by the Pythagoreans.

The Pythagorean conception of the harmony of the spheres created an interest in music, and led them to the observation that the pitch of musical notes depends on a simple numerical ratio in the length of the chord struck.

Similarly, from their doctrine of numbers they made important advances in pure or abstract mathematics, apart from concrete application. They erected a system of plane geometry in which were formulated the principal theorems which concern parallels, triangles, quadrilateral and regular polygonal figures and angles. They discerned many important properties of prime numbers and progressions, and, in particular, they worked out the theory of proportion, which was of great importance as providing the link between arithmetic and geometry.

Perhaps the most striking mathematical achievement of the Pythagorean thinkers is their attainment of a conception of the nature of "irrational numbers." Their proof of the existence of such quantities is determined by reaching the absurdity that if the diameter of a square is commensurable with its side, an even number must at the same time be odd. This discovery led to the abandonment of the old theory of proportion which recognized ratios only of whole numbers. With the imperfect system of mathematical notation of the time, however, great algebraical advance was impossible, and irrational numbers could not be algebraically represented.

Greek mathematics was, therefore, given rather a geometrical bias, and this it retained throughout. We may say that the Greeks constantly resorted to geometrical methods in cases where we should prefer algebraical methods.

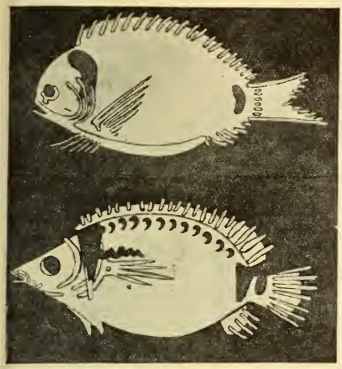


GEOMETRY INSTEAD OF ALGEBRA

Where we should employ algebraic methods the Pythagoreans had to be content with geometrical demonstrations. This is a diagram of their geometrical proof of the simple equation $(x+y)^2 = x^2+2xy+y^2$ as explained in the text.

In addition to their great mathematical achievements, the Pythagoreans made an important contribution to astronomical thought, for they were the first to maintain that the earth and the heavenly bodies were spheres.

During the fifth century B.C. there developed among the Western Greeks settled in Italy and Sicily a remarkable naturalistic art; painters closely observed and represented the parts and structure of animals. This naturalistic tendency is reflected by the Italo-Greek scientific thinkers. Among these was Alcmaeon of Croton (c. 500 B.C.), a pupil of Pythagoras, who extended the scientific sphere to living things. He began the practice of dissection, and we have some record of his anatomical achievements. He discovered the optic nerves. Alcmaeon described also those tubes, extending from the mouth to the ear, through which, if the nose be pinched and the mouth distended by the breath, air can be felt to be driven into the ear drums. These tubes were next investigated by the anatomist Eustachio, after whom they are called the Eustachian tubes. Eustachio lived in Italy more than twenty centuries



ACCURATE OBSERVATION OF NATURE

The observational methods of the Western scientific school are reflected in the accurate animal studies of fourth-century B.C. Italiote vase painters. Top: Sargus vulgaris (sheepshead); Bottom: Crenilabrus Mediterraneus (wrasse).

after Alcmaeon; he died in 1574.

One very important Western thinker, upon whom Pythagoras had some influence, was Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily, who lived from about 500 to about 430 B.C. In biology Empedocles is responsible for the doctrine that the blood is the seat of the mysterious "innate heat," an idea taken from folk belief that "the blood is the life." This innate heat he closely identified with the soul.

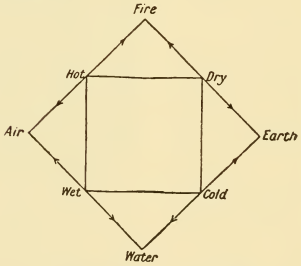
Empedocles supposed that Love and Strife alternately held sway over all things. Everywhere there was opposition and affinity, and in matter itself the so-called four "elements" could be distinguished as exhibiting these relationships. All matter was held to be made up of the four essential elements—earth, air, fire and water. These were in opposition to or in alliance with one another. Thus water was opposed to fire, but allied to earth. Each of the elements was, moreover, in its turn compounded of a pair of the four "primary qualities"—heat and cold, moisture and dryness. These qualities exhibit affinity and opposition as do the elements.

It must not be imagined that these "elements" were the substances that we know by the names of earth, water, air and fire in this world below. On our earthly sphere we find such things only in combination. Thus, the substance we know as water, though it contains a preponderance of that element, contains also small amounts of the other three elements. It is the essence of water which is the element water, an essence that we can never apprehend.

By the end of the fifth century B.C. the Eastern and Western schools of the Greeks were becoming overshadowed by Athens. The greater complexity of life was making itself ever more felt. The systematic accumulation of knowledge was beginning to render a little old-fashioned those who "took all knowledge to be their province."

In these circumstances, something in the nature of scientific specialization began to appear, and this especially in two departments, mathematics and medicine. By a curious chance the two most typical early exponents of these disciplines bore the same name and came from neighboring and similarly named islands: the physician, Hippocrates of Cos, and the mathematician, Hippocrates of Chios.

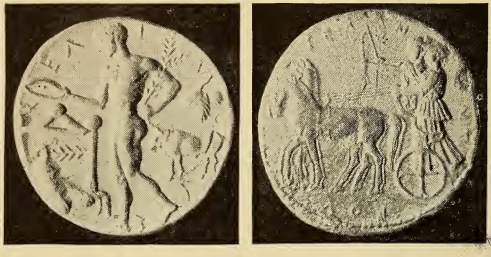
Hippocrates the physician was born on the island of Cos, which is situated just inside the Dorian zone. He came of a family of physicians. Both on his own island and on the opposite peninsula of Cnidus medical schools had long been established.



THEORY OF THE ELEMENTS

The biological teaching of Empedocles was largely influenced by views about the so-called 'elements,' wherein four primary qualities (hot, cold, wet and dry) combined to form the four primary substances, fire, water, air and earth.

Of the details of the life of Hippocrates of Cos we know very little. He was born about 460 B.C. and is said to have died in his hundredth year. He led a wandering life and had many pupils, among whom were his sons and sons-in-law. This is practically all we know of him. Yet we cannot exaggerate the influence on medicine and the value for physicians of all time of the traditional picture that was early formed of Hippocrates.

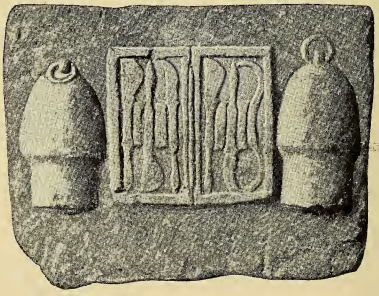


MEMORIAL TO EMPEDOCLES' SKILL

Empedocles of Acragas (c. 450 B.C.) is said to have stayed a plague of malaria that was afflicting the city of Selinus; and in certain coins we seem to have the event commemorated. Here (left) the river god Selinus sacrifices at the altar of Asklepios, while on the obverse appear Apollo and Artemis.

British Museum

For beauty and dignity that figure is beyond praise. Perhaps gaining in stateliness what he loses in clearness, Hippocrates will ever remain the type of the perfect physician. Learned, observant, humane, with a profound reverence for the claims of his patients, but possessed of an overmastering desire that his experience shall benefit others, orderly and calm, disturbed only by anxiety to record his knowledge for the use of his brother physicians and for the relief of suffering, grave, thoughtful and reticent, pure of mind and master of his passions, this is no overdrawn picture of the Father of Medicine as he appeared to his contemporaries and successors.



FOR CUPPING AND BLEEDING

A votive tablet dedicated in the temple of Asklepios at Athens shows some of the appliances of the Greek surgeon's art: two cupping vessels and a folding case, containing scalpels and lancets.

From Milne, 'Surgical Instruments in Greek Times,' Clarendon Press

The method of the Hippocratic writers is that now known as "inductive." Without the vast scientific heritage that is ours today, with but a small number of observations drawn from scattered and unorganized experiences, surrounded by all manner of bizarre Oriental religions in which no adequate relation of cause and effect was recognized—above all, constantly urged by the exuberant genius for speculation of that Greek people in the midst of whom they lived and whose intellectual temptations they shared, the Hippocratic physicians remained, nevertheless, patient observers of fact, sceptical of the marvelous and the unverifiable, hesitating to theorize beyond the facts, yet eager to generalize from actual experience.

Important for the history of medicine, the Hippocratic writings are important, too, for the conception that they contain of the nature of science. This conception is peculiarly well brought out in a treatise on the falling sickness, or epilepsy. In those days the affliction was held to be of the order of a divine visita-

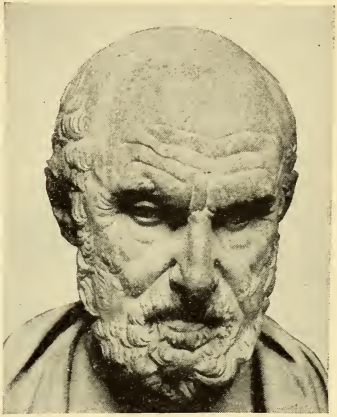
tion, and was known as the "sacred disease." A Hippocratic writer—possibly Hippocrates himself—wrote a book on it, in which he sets forth admirably the proper attitude of the scientific man towards supernatural claims. It is a monument of the rational spirit, and is, perhaps, the first book that has come down to us in which there is clear opposition between the scientific and the religious points of view.

Hippocrates of Chios flourished about the year 430 B.C. He is the first person of whom we hear as having compiled a work on the elements of geometry, the subject which has made a household word of the name of his successor, Euclid of Alexandria. Hippocrates of Chios is the first example that we encounter in history of a mathematical "specialist."

His work in mathematics may be illustrated by his most famous and one of his most acute investigations. This will give an idea of the standard to which mathematics had attained in Greece about the year 400. Hippocrates discovered that the "lune," bounded by an arc of 90°, and by a semicircle upon its chord, is equal in area to the triangle formed by the corresponding chord with the center as its apex. This geometrical method of the area of a curved figure aroused intense interest. Hippocrates pursued his researches and discovered two other lunes which could also be squared. Both these cases are special and peculiar figures. Finally, he discovered a particular lune which, when added to a circle, enables the whole to be represented geometrically as a square; this lune by itself cannot, however, be squared, and so the method cannot be used for squaring the circle.

In the fifth century B.C., then, the two scientific disciplines of medicine and of mathematics had emerged as special preoccupations of men set aside from their fellows. A third topic, astronomy, was slower in being separated from the general body of philosophy, since the conception that men form of the general order of things is closely related to their idea of the structure of the world in which they live. Even in this department, however, signs of separation began now to appear.

Eudoxus of Cnidus, a philosopher who lived in the early part of the fourth century B.C., practiced at Athens as an astronomer and mathematician. He studied under the Pythagoreans, and was a friend of Plato. Among his achievements is his remarkably accurate estimate of the solar year as 365 days and 6 hours. Under the stimulus of Plato he



FATHER OF MEDICINE

We know little about Hippocrates of Cos personally, but out of a mass of so-called Hippocratic writings there are some that express the spirit of his teachings. He profoundly impressed his contemporaries and gave rise to a long series of idealized busts.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

made important contributions to mathematical theory.

The earlier phase of Greek thought terminated with the fifth century in a thinker of a very individual type, Socrates (470-399 B.C.). The overwhelming preoccupation of Socrates was with conduct; for him "Knowledge is Virtue."

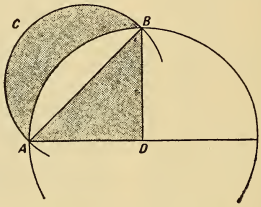
The attitude of Socrates towards the sciences of his day has been set forth by his pupil Xenophon, who tells us:

> With regard to astronomy, Socrates considered a knowledge of it desirable to the extent of determining the day of the year or of the month and the hour of the night; but as for learning the courses of the stars, occupying oneself with the planets or inquiring about their distance from the earth or about their orbits or the causes of their movements, to all these he strongly objected as waste of

time. He dwelt on the contradictions and conflicting opinions of the physical philosophers . . . and, in fine, he held that speculators on the universe and on the laws of the heavenly bodies were no better than madmen.

For a while the triumph of the Socratic revolution depressed Greek science and physical philosophy. But out of the conflict between the Socratics and the physical philosophers arose the main streams of later Greek thought. These two streams derive their titles and their tendencies from the two gigantic figures that occupy the stage during the fourth century. It is the century of Plato and Aristotle.

Plato (427-347), being convinced, like his master Socrates, that Truth and Good exist, and that they are inseparable, embarked on an inquiry which had as its object to expose, account for and resolve into one comprehensive theory the discrepancies of ordinary thinking. During this process he developed a doctrine destined to be of great moment for the subsequent relations of scientific thought with that which comes under the heading of religion and philosophy. It is the so-called "doctrine of ideas."



AREA OF A LUNE

This diagram, explained opposite, illustrates the astonishingly advanced geometric methods of Hippocrates of Chios, who dealt largely with the areas of curvilinear figures.

Both the nature of this doctrine and the manner in which Plato reached it have been briefly set forth by his pupil, Aristotle, in the "Metaphysics."

In his youth Plato became familiar with the doctrines of certain philosophers that all things perceived by the senses are ever in a state of flux and there is no knowledge concerning them. To these views he held even in later years. Socrates, however, busied himself about ethical matters, neglecting the world of Nature, but seeking the universal in conduct. He it was who fixed thought for the first time on definitions. Plato accepted his teaching but held that the problem applied not to anything perceived by the senses, but to something of another sort. His reason was that the common definition could not be a definition of things perceived by the senses because they were always changing. Things of this sort he called Ideas, and things perceived by the senses, he said, were different from these (Ideas) and were all called after them.

Thus concepts, things of the mind, became for Plato something very concrete, while our impressions of the material universe, percepts, became something very vague.

Plato expresses a great admiration for mathematical principles, and he regards mathematics as exhibiting that type of certitude and exactness to which other studies should conform. Now, mathematics relies for the material on which it works upon something of the nature of Plato's Ideas. It might be expected, therefore, that mathematics would appeal to him. Many of Plato's thoughts assume a mathematical guise; and he exhibits at times a view which seems to approach that of Pythagoras, who had attached a moral and spiritual value to numbers.

However, the general attitude of Plato was much less favorable to the physical sciences. Plato was, in fact, without those qualities which lend themselves to patient inductive observation.

It has been well said that every man and woman that is born into the world is by nature a disciple of either Plato or Aristotle. Aristotle himself has set forth the difference between the two attitudes, reduced to its simplest expression. It arises out of the discussion, in his great work "The Physics," of the use of mathematical formulae. The bodies studied in the physical sciences have, of course, in them "planes and solids, lines and points." But such planes and solids, lines and points are the subjects also of mathematical study. How, then, are we to distinguish the procedure of the mathematical from that of the physical sciences?

Aristotle's answer to this is that the mathematician does, indeed, study these things, but not as the "limits of a physical body." The objects of mathematics, though in fact inseparable from a physi-

cal, movable body, are studied in abstraction from movement. This process of abstraction necessarily involves error. The mistake made by Plato's theory of Ideas is that of attempting to abstract from matter things, entities, in whose very nature, unlike that of mathematical objects, matter is involved.

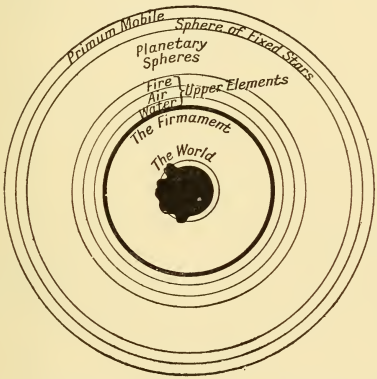
We may see the effect of the two attitudes in the biological works of the two great philosophers. The biological views of Plato are shrouded in the repulsive pages of the "Timaeus." In this work he is led by an inner light that is here, if ever, deceptive and distorting. He has elevated into picture form, from an idea, a mechanism that never was on land or sea. On the other hand, in the great biological works of Aristotle we have a magnificent series of first-hand observations and positive studies to which naturalists in all ages return with delight and refreshment.

In so far as the subsequent development of science is concerned, the importance of Plato must, therefore, be sought almost exclusively in the department of mathematics. Plato was, in fact, an accomplished mathematician and had had Pythagorean teachers.

In the first place, it is through Plato that mathematics obtained and still retains a place in higher education. The abstractions of mathematics appealed to him, and he saw therein an instrument for the training of logical thought. The study of mathematics was thus for him the portal to philosophy.

Secondly, the hand of Plato may be traced in the actual course of mathematical development. To his logical teaching the system of elementary mathematics owes the rigor and logical finish that have since distinguished it. This factor exhibited itself in his pupils and his spiritual descendants. Strange as it may appear, such a work as Euclid's "Elements" is in essence a product of Plato's thought.

Thirdly, the inspiration of Plato can be traced clearly in the history of astronomy. From an early stage he came to regard the observed irregular movements of the planets as inconsistent with his view of the essential perfection of the universe. These movements had, in his opinion, to be explained as somehow compounded of simple circular movements, a conception that he derived from his Pythagorean teachers. Plato accordingly set his pupils the task of propounding rules by which the movements of the heavenly bodies could be reduced to a system of circles and spheres. This was the main task of astronomers from the time of Plato to that of Kepler—a stretch of two thousand years. During all that time the hand of Plato lay heavy upon astronomy, and even Copernicus did not free himself therefrom. In this matter Aristotle is largely Plato under another name.



THE UNIVERSE OF ARISTOTLE

According to the ideas of Aristotle, which were in many ways reactionary, the earth was a sphere fixed at the center of the universe, the stars and planets moving in perfect circles round it with uniform velocity. Above is a medieval elaboration of his system.

Fourthly, Plato may be said to have made one important positive contribution to science, namely the development of the analytical method in mathematics.

Heracleides of Pontus (about 388-315 B.C.) was a pupil of Plato. He advanced astronomy by claiming that the earth rotates on its own axis once in twenty-four hours, and that Mercury and Venus

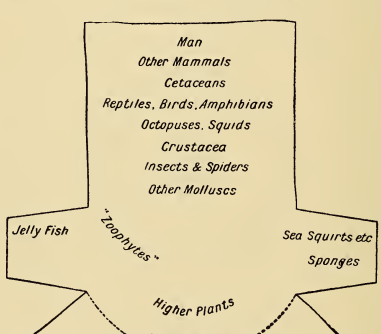
circle about the sun like satellites. The teaching of Heracleides led on to that of Aristarchus.

Of importance for subsequent mathematical developments was Menaechmus, a pupil of Eudoxus. Menaechmus began the study of conic sections, which was carried to great perfection by ancient mathematicians, especially of the Alexandrian school. The study of conic sections was for many centuries of little practical importance. In modern times, with the astronomical discoveries of Kepler (1571-1630), the mathematical innovations of Descartes (1596-1650) and the optical work of Newton (1642-1727), it has become of great practical importance.

Aristotle was born in 384 B.C., at Stagira, a Greek colony a few miles from the northern limit of the present monastic settlement of Mount Athos. From his father, who was physician to the ruling prince of Macedonia, he may have inherited his taste for biological investigation. At seventeen Aristotle became a pupil of Plato at Athens. After his master's death in 347 he crossed the Aegean to reside in Asia Minor, and the first draft of his biological works and the mass of his own observations were made during his stay in this region.

In 342 B.C. Aristotle became tutor to the young crown prince, Alexander of Macedon. When Alexander departed for the invasion of Asia, Aristotle returned to Athens, where he taught at the Lyceum and established his famous school, afterwards called the Peripatetic. He died in 322 B.C., and left a vast number of writings, only a portion of which deal with science. The scientific works to which Aristotle's name is attached may be divided into three groups—physical, biological and psychological.

When we start to examine Aristotle's view on the material nature of the universe we at once encounter a conception that shuts us off from him. The revolution in the attitude towards the material universe introduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Kepler, Galileo and Newton was so fundamental, and resulted in such a complete destruction of the Aristotelian point of view, which had prevailed till then, that it is very difficult for us to go back in thought. We are brought up from early years with the idea of the uniformity of Nature. But this uniformity, evident and axiomatic to us, was by no means so to Aristotle. To him heaven was not only different from earth, but its ways were incommensurate with the ways of earth.



ARISTOTLE'S SCALE OF LIFE

It would be exaggeration to say that Aristotle stated a doctrine of evolution, but he certainly arranged living forms in an ascending scale which bears some analogy to the modern classification.

Against Aristotle it has been urged that he obstructed the progress of astronomy by not identifying terrestrial and celestial mechanics, and by laying down the principle that celestial motions were regulated by peculiar laws. He placed the heavens beyond the possibility of experimental research, and at the same time impeded the progress of mechanics by his assumption of a distinction between "natural" and "unnatural" motion. On the other hand, we should remember that Aristotle gave an interest to the study of Nature by his provision of a positive and tangible scheme.

It seems unfair to bring his own greatness as a charge against him. All our conceptions of the material world—"scientific theories" as we call them—

are but temporary devices to be abandoned when occasion demands. That the scheme propounded by Aristotle lasted more than two thousand years is evidence of its symmetry and beauty and of the greatness of the mind that wrought it. That it received no effective criticism is no fault of Aristotle's, but is evidence of what dwarfs the men who followed him were by comparison with him.

Since, however, Aristotle's physical system has, in fact, fallen, and since it does not exhibit him as an experimental scientist, we will content ourselves with setting it forth in a series of its most important propositions:

1. Matter is continuous.
2. All matter is somehow made up of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, which in their turn contain the four "qualities," heat, cold, dryness and moisture, in binary combination.
3. The earth is a sphere. It is fixed as the center of the universe, which is itself spherical.
4. The stars and planets move with uniform velocity in concentric circles round the earth.
5. Circular movement is the most perfect conceivable and represents the changeless, eternal and perfect order of the heavens as contrasted with the mutable, mortal and imperfect order that prevails on this our earth.
6. The universe is finite.

By the scientific standards of today Aristotle appears at his best in the capacity of a biologist. To have made such a prodigious number of original observations as his biological works contain, we must suppose that he organized his pupils for their collection, though some of the observations have doubtless been added by his successors, the Peripatetics.

Aristotle is, in the fullest sense, a "vitalist." That is to say, he believes that the presence of a certain peculiar principle of a non-material character is essential for the exhibition of any of the phenomena of life. This principle we may call soul, translating the word "psyche." Living things, like all else in Nature, have, according to Aristotle, an end or object.

There can be no doubt that through much of the Aristotelian writings runs a belief in a kinetic as distinct from a static view of existence. It cannot be claimed that he regarded the different kinds of living things as actually passing one into another, but there can be no doubt that he fully realized that the different kinds can be arranged in a series in which the gradations are easy.

It is extremely interesting to read what Aristotle has to say in connection with such modern problems as the nature of generation, heredity, variation, and the like. We cannot here, however, follow him through the amazing variety and depth of his biological speculations, which have a permanent value and are constantly referred to by working biologists of the present day. Still less can we follow him into the storehouse of his biological discoveries.

Yet we can hardly leave his biological works without enumerating some of the more important of his positive achievements.

1. He made systematic embryological investigations, using the developing chick, which has since become the classical object for such researches. He describes the structure of the creature at different stages with great accuracy and acumen.
2. He investigated with particular skill the structure, habits and mode of development of a large number of fish.
3. His account of the habits and development of the octopuses and squids have in some cases been surpassed only in modern times.
4. His account of the development of certain species of dog-fish and of the habits of breeding of cat-fish, treated with derision in the past, have been actually verified by modern naturalists. Nothing has contributed more to Aristotle's reputation as an observing naturalist than this reversal of an historical verdict.

Aristotle's work was continued by his school, the Peripatetics, of whom the best known was Theophrastus of Eresus (about 372 to 287 B.C.).

Among the Peripatetics of the first generation who made contributions to science was Dicaearchus, who wrote a description of the world accompanied by a map, calculated the heights of mountains and employed himself on physical geography. After the first generation, however, the Peripatetic school devoted itself to preserving or to commenting upon the work of their founder. They exhibited little originality, and from about 300 B.C. onwards Athens ceased to be a great scientific center.

Despite this failure, a certain amount of scientific work continued for a while to be done at Athens. Autolycus of Pitane in Asia Minor, a contemporary of Aristotle, expounded the geometry of the sphere for astronomical purposes. Important investigations were also stimulated by the conquests of Aristotle's pupil, Alexander. That great conqueror made an attempt to survey his empire by employing a special force of men to measure the distances of the main roads. The services of these men were available for other scientific purposes, such as collecting data, and Theophrastus profited by the information they supplied.

The natural scientific heir of the Alexdrian Empire is, however, Alexander's own city of Alexandria in Egypt. From about 300 B.C. until the downfall of the civilization of antiquity, Alexandria remained the chief center of scientific knowledge, and in this respect Athens fell entirely into the shade.

PATIENT RECEIVING TREATMENT AT THE HANDS OF A GREEK PHYSICIAN

A vase painting of about 400 B.C., shows a Greek physician in his clinic, cupping a patient from the median vein. Other patients await their turn for treatment: a man leaning on a staff (left), his chest bandaged; a dwarf obviously suffering from achondroplasia (maldevelopment); a man with his left leg bandaged in the region of the biceps; and a man smelling a flower, perhaps to ward off infection. Cupping vessels hang on the wall behind.

From E. Pittier, 'Une clinique grecque au cinquième siécle,' in 'Monuments Piot'

THE EASTWARD SPREAD OF HELLENISM

FAR-REACHING RESULTS OF THE IMPACT OF GREEK CULTURE UPON THE DISTANT ORIENT IN THE DAYS AFTER ALEXANDER

By H. G. RAWLINSON

Principal and Professor of English, Deccan College, Poona; Author of Intercourse Between India and the Western World

THE spring of 334 B.C. witnessed an event which was destined to revolutionize the history of the West. Alexander of Macedon, at the head of his Graeco-Macedonian army, crossed the Hellespont, and landed on the historic shores of ancient Troy, inaugurating a new era in the history of civilization. The day of the old, exclusive Greek city state was dead and gone for ever. Hellenic culture was destined to be reborn, in new and hitherto unimagined forms, on the banks of the Indus or amid the central Asian steppes.

When Alexander advanced into Asia Minor he found the Persian satraps awaiting him on the farther banks of the river Granicus. But the Macedonian army scattered them like chaff before the wind. Meanwhile, Darius, the Great King, came down upon Alexander's rear just as the latter was entering Syria. But he foolishly drew up his troops in the narrow plain of the Issus, between the mountains and the sea, and, cooped up in this death-trap, the Persian hosts were cut to pieces by the Macedonians.

Alexander now turned towards Tyre, and after capturing it went to Egypt, where he founded the city of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile. No city was destined to play a nobler part in the history of Hellenism. Here was collected the greatest library of the ancient world, which drew scholars and scientists from the ends of the earth. Alexandria was one of the most important links in that chain of Greek intercourse with the East which we are now to discuss.

Egypt subdued and organized, Alexander was at last free to turn his attention to Darius. After weeks of weary marching into the very heart of Persia, the Macedonians at length met their enemy on the plain of Gaugamela. All the gallantry of Persia was of no avail. Darius fled in wild panic, and the proud and ancient city of Babylon, the capital of Hammurabi and Nebuchadrezzar, opened its gates to the boy conqueror from the distant west. Susa followed, and then Persepolis, and the latter city was given over to fire and sword, as a symbol to all the world that Persian rule was over for ever.

The unhappy Darius, now a prisoner in the hands of his kinsmen Bessus, the viceroy of Bactria, was fleeing northward with the Macedonian cavalry hard at his heels. At last, when the pursuit became too hot, the last of the heirs of 'Cyrus, the King, the Achaemenian,' was found, stabbed by the wayside.

Meanwhile, Bessus was flying to distant Bactria to organize fresh resistance. Alexander first of all subdued Aria, and founded a city, Alexander Ariae, the modern Herat, to watch over the country in his absence. After resting for the winter of 330-29, he proceeded to march southwards through Sacastene (Seistan) into Gedrosia (Baluchistan), and thence northwards towards the Hindu Kush mountains, or the Indian Caucasus, to give them their Greek name. He founded two more cities to guard his line of communications, one supposed to have stood on the site of the modern Kandahar, and the other, Alexandria-under-Caucasus (ad Caucasum), at the foot of the passes. Crossing the Hindu Kush with an armed force offered no obstacle to Alexander, and the spring of 328 found him knocking at the gates of the ancient Bactra, now known as Balkh. Alexander determined to make Bactra the base for his final achievement, the conquest of India. First of all, however, it was necessary to overawe the

THE SEVENTH WONDER OF THE WORLD

Halicarnassus, the modern Budrum, was captured by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. It was world-famous for the monument raised to the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, by his widow Artemisia. These figures of the royal pair stood in the chariot on the summit.
British Museum

Scythians beyond the Oxus, and for this purpose a campaign was undertaken which brought Alexander as far as the Jaxartes, where he founded a large fortress, Alexandria-the-Ultimate (Alexandria Eschatê), on the ground where Khojend now stands. This was the final outpost of Hellenism, looking out over the Scythian steppes and controlling the central Asian trade route through Kashgar into China, whence came the silk and jade to the markets of Europe.

In 326, the Macedonian army retraced its steps to Ortospana (Kabul) and then, following the Cophen (Kabul) river, entered India and crossed the Indus at Attock, after some hard fighting with the mountain tribes. Moving in a southeasterly direction, Alexander found himself confronted, on the banks of the Hydaspes (the modern Jhelum), by an army led by a prince of the name of Porus (Paurava, the son of Puru).

The Indian army went down before the onslaught of the ever-victorious Macedonians, and Alexander pressed on to the banks of the Hyphasis (Beas). No doubt he would have marched on to the Gangetic plain and captured the imperial city of Pataliputra (Patna), which was his next objective, but the weary soldiers at last rebelled. Alexander, therefore, retreated westwards, and with the survivors of his army reached Susa in May 324 B.C. Here he pressed forward his plans for amalgamating East and West. He had already married, in Bactria, the beautiful Roxana; he now added to his harem two Persian princesses, and many of his nobles followed his example. Various centres were established for recruiting and training Asiatic troops according to the Macedonian drill-book, a move which found no favor with his older Macedonian companions.

All his plans were cut short, however, when he died in Babylon, of fever, in June, 323 B.C., at the age of 33.

On the death of the master-spirit, the Empire collapsed. After a period of confused fighting, two great kingdoms emerged in the Near East, Egypt under Ptolemy I Soter, and Syria under Seleucus, who seized Babylon in 312 B.C. Syria is really a misnomer, for the kingdom of Seleucus included the whole of the old Persian Empire as far as the Hindu Kush, and indeed at first did not

REGIONS WHERE GREEK AND INDIAN CULTURE INTERMINGLED

When Seleucus inherited the eastern parts of Alexander's dominions he found it impossible to maintain his hold on anything beyond the Indus, and finally ceded Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the Indian emperor, Chandragupta the Maurya. On the break-up of the Mauryan Empire, c. 200 B.C., it was the Greek kings of a now independent Bactria, not the Seleucid emperors, who reoccupied the lost territory and invaded the Punjab. Parthia had also become independent under Arsaces.

include Syria at all. In the Farther East, new states appeared under various adventurers. In India, one Chandragupta Maurya had made himself master of Pataliputra, and on the news of the death of Alexander had expelled the Greek rulers from the Punjab (317 B.C.). When Seleucus tried to subdue him in 305 B.C., Chandragupta defeated the invader and formed a treaty with him which included an 'alliance by marriage,' which perhaps means that a Greek princess entered the harem of the Indian monarch.

Seleucus also gave up the eastern provinces of his Empire (the modern Baluchistan and Afghanistan), which he could never hope to control, in exchange for five hundred elephants, by whose help he crushed his rival Antigonus at Ipsus in 301, thereby winning Syria.

Farther north, two important events occured about 250 B.C. A patriotic Parthian named Arsaces headed a national revolt, and laid the foundations of a kingdom which was destined to be a thorn in the flesh of the Roman Empire for nearly five centuries. In Bactria the governor, Diodotus, declared for independence, and Antiochus the Great failed to put down his successor, Euthydemus,

though he defeated him in battle in 208.

Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, 'the great Emetrius, the King of Ind,' was a mighty conqueror. He extended the rule of Bactria right up to the Pamirs, so as to control the central Asian trade routes. Then, profiting by the break-up of the Mauryan Empire, he invaded the Punjab, where he founded a new capital, which he named Euthydemeia, at Sangala (perhaps the modern Sialkot). Meanwhile a rival of the name of Eucratides had set himself up in Bactra. The northern kingdom was extinguished about 165 B.C. or later, when the Sacae or Scythians, forced southwards by tribal movements among the Yueh-chi of central Asia, crossed the Oxus, and drove the Greeks across the mountains into India.

After this a number of petty Greek principalities arose in the Kabul country and along the Afghan frontier. For a moment Greek rule flared up in a brilliant Indian summer of greatness under Menander, the only one of the later monarchs to achieve lasting fame. Menander was born at Alexandria-under-Caucasus, and about 160 B.C. he became king of Sangala.

Menander was not content to remain at home for long. He led a great army into central India. Sweeping all before him he crossed the Son, and threatened Pataliputra, now the seat of Pushyamitra, the usurper who had driven out the last of the Mauryas. But Menander had to abandon his ambitious projects, owing, doubtless, to threats of attack by the Sacae. He and all his court were subsequently converted to Buddhism by the sage Nâgasena.

ROMAN COINS FROM SOUTHERN INDIA

The extent of trade between India and the Mediterranean world in Roman imperial times is attested by huge finds of Roman coins. These, from Pudukota, bear the image and superscription of Nero; note how they are mutilated.

British Museum

After Menander, Greek rule in the Punjab gradually collapsed. The numerous petty Greek rulers, as their coins show, were gradually losing all traces of their Hellenic origin, and in the north-west they were displaced, first by Scythian and Pahlava (Parthian) invaders, and finally by a branch of the Yueh-chi, known as the Kushans.

The collapse of the Kushans, and the simultaneous rise of the Sassanians in Persia, early in the third century A.D., put an end to the spread of Hellenism in the north-west of India and the adjoining countries.

Meanwhile, India was also coming into contact with the West through the flourishing sea-borne trade which had sprung up between the ports on the west coast

HELLENISTIC COINS OF THE DISTANT EAST, 250-150 B.C.

Even when entirely cut off from contact with the West the Greeks produced coins unsurpassed for beauty by anything minted in Greece and Sicily. Here (left to right) are coins of Diodotus of Bactria, Demetrius of India, wearing an elephant's scalp, Eucratides of Bactria in 'causia' or sun hat, and Menander of Sangala in the Punjab.

From Gardner, Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings

and Alexandria. This commerce received a great impetus from the enterprising policy of the Ptolemies. With the establishment of the 'Pax Romana,' the demand for luxuries from the East increased enormously. These commodities were shipped from ports on the Malabar coast to Aden, from Aden to the Red Sea port of Myos Hormos (Mussel Harbor), and thence by the desert road to the Nile, where they were floated down to Alexandria. Alexandria thus became the emporium of the East.

Sea-borne trade between East and West

Pliny bitterly complains of the 'drain' which this trade in Eastern luxuries inflicted: he estimates it at over a million pounds sterling per annum. This statement is supported by the huge finds of Roman coins which have been made from time to time in southern India. It seems almost certain that there were at one time colonies of Roman merchants on the Malabar coast, at Muziris (Cranganore) and other places in southern India.

CHAMPION OF BACTRIAN INDEPENDENCE

Euthydemus I superseded Diodotus in the rule of Bactria and in 208 B.C. secured recognition of his independence from Antiochus of Syria. This Hellenic bust, showing him wearing the 'causia' or sun hat, probably dates from that time.

From Delbrück, Antike Porträts

We now come to an interesting question. To what extent, and in what direction, did Greek culture affect the various oriental states with which it came into contact? It must be remembered that Greek ideas were no novelty in western Asia at the time of Alexander's invasion. There had been flourishing Greek colonies all along the coast-line of Asia Minor for many centuries. Greek ambassadors and travellers had penetrated to the Persian capital at Susa; there had been Greek mercenaries and other officers in the pay of the Great King. From Marathon till the days of Alexander, Greek and Persian had fought and intrigued and negotiated. As early as the sixth century we find Asiatic rulers, like Croesus of Lydia, thoroughly Hellenic in their outlook.

True forerunner of Alexander

Perhaps the event which brought Greece and Persia more into contact with one another than anything else, however, was the expedition of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon in the year 401 B.C., which made the famous march from the heart of Mesopotamia to Trapezus on the Euxine Sea. Xenophon was the true forerunner of Alexander. What Alexander did, then, was not so much to introduce any novel ideas into the Nearer East as to shift the centre of gravity of Greek culture from Greece to Asia, and to establish a new Magna Graecia in the Orient, comparable to that which had flourished for centuries in Sicily and Italy. The chief agents for the spread of Hellenism were the cities which he and his successors planted all over their dominions.

These cities never lost sight of their mother country; they sent representatives to the Great Games, and retained the old constitution of the city states of Greece. Such cities, with their temples, gymnasia, libraries and theaters, dotted about from the foothills of the Hindu Kush and the

banks of the Jaxartes to the mouth of the Nile, were the centers for the spread of Hellenism.

Speech of the Seleucid Empire

Greek in the Seleucid Empire resembled, mutatis mutandis, English in India today. The 'Koinê,' or common Greek dialect was the official language, and was affected by the upper classes, among whom a veneer of Greek culture was fashionable. Doubtless, too, the substitution of Greek for the babel of Asiatic dialects, and of the neat Greek script for the clumsy cuneiform, had far-reaching effects upon commerce and national life. Later on, we shall see how the Greeks of Bactria and the Punjab, though entirely cut off for centuries from contact with the West, produced a series of coins unsurpassed for beauty by anything minted in Greece and Sicily. The vitality of Hellenism is its most amazing characteristic.

One of the most momentous consequences of the Hellenisation of the East was the spread of Christianity all over the western world, and its ultimate acceptance as the official religion of the Roman

INFLUENCE OF HELLENISM UPON INDIAN ART MANIFESTED IN SCULPTURE

The oldest known example of Indo-Hellenic sculpture in the Punjab is the statuette dating from about the beginning of the Christian era, of Pallas Athene (left), in purely Greek style. As the result of Greek influence, the Buddhists began to make images of Buddha, whom previously they had represented only by symbols, and in the so-called Gandhara school of sculpture the Blessed One is often figured, as on the right, attended by a spirit acolyte.

Lahore Museum and (right) Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin

Empire and, ultimately, of modern Europe. Alexander the Great had always favored the Jews, and no state became Hellenised more quickly than Judaea. The Hasmoneans (the successors of Judas Maccabaeus) and, later, the Herods, were entirely Greek in their outlook on life. Jerusalem, with its theaters and gymnasia, had all the appearance of a Greek city. Jewish young men of the upper classes spoke Greek and dressed like Greeks; the Old Testament had to be translated into Greek for the Hellenized Jews of Alexandria, and patriotic Jewish writers like Philo and Josephus actually chose this language as their medium.

Worcester, U.S.A.

Louvre

BUDDHIST ADAPTATIONS

Western technique applied to oriental themes produced in the earlier Graeco-Buddhist sculpture a remarkable hybrid art. In the Bodhisattva (right)—a potential Buddha, who has not yet attained full enlightenment—and in the Gandhara Buddha (left) the treatment of the drapery is very reminiscent of the drapery of the classic Pheidian school. But despite this and the Greek sandals the Bodhisattva wears Indian head-dress and Indian ornaments.

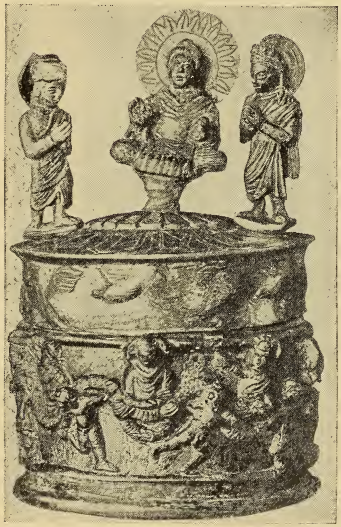
The teachings of Our Lord were, it is true, entirely Hebraic in character, and were probably delivered in Aramaic. But Jesus must have known Greek and spoken in Greek to the Pharisees and to foreign officials like Pontius Pilate.

It was the 'Koinê,' or Greek 'lingua franca,' which made the Gospels accessible to educated people all over the world. Greek was the current language of early Christianity, and the Septuagint was the version commonly used in quotations. S. Paul, in his speeches and writings to Greek audiences, deliberately endeavors to place Christianity and Stoic philosophy side by side. In the first chapter of S. John, verses 1-6, we are reminded of the marriage of Christianity and Greek philosophy in the identification of the Incarnate Christ with the Logos, or Divine Intelligence. In architecture, the fine arts and in coinage we find abundant traces of the Hellenisation of western Asia from Ctesiphon to Baalbek and Palmyra. Hellenism continued to be a living force in Asia until the beginning of the third century A.D, when it was swept away in the Zoroastrian revival of Ardashir.

We may next turn to the puzzling problem of the influence of Hellenism in

Bactria and India. Of the brilliant but short-lived kingdom of Bactria proper, we know hardly anything except what we may glean from the coins. But the coins, unless they are a 'sport,' an outburst of sporadic genius from the hand of an unknown artist, are a proof of a very high level of culture. Beyond the Hindu Kush, the leaven of Hellenism is far less pronounced. Alexander's invasion had little more effect than the countless other invasions which, from time immemorial, have come pouring through the Khyber, and all traces of it were swept away by Chandragupta before 317 B.C.

The Mauryan court was, however, distinctly cosmopolitan. Chandragupta had been brought up in Taxila, and had come into contact with Persian influence to a considerable extent. The Mauryan court remained predominantly Persian, not Greek. The elaborate ceremonial, the autocratic government depicted by Megasthenes and in Kautilya's Artha Sastra, the architecture of the capital as revealed by excavations, the lion-pillars, Asoka's long inscriptions on the face of the rock, the Royal Road—all these are Persian, not Hellenic in spirit.



KANISHKA'S COPPER-GILT RELIQUARY FOR BUDDHA'S ASHES

Gandhara art was highly developed under the Kushan king Kanishka (c. A.D. 78)—witness this reliquary from a stupa founded by him. It is a circular pyx of copper gilt; on the lid is a figure of the Buddha seated between Brahma and Indra. Around the pyx is a ring of flying swans set above a frieze in the Greek manner showing three Buddhas seated in the loops of a garland held by amorini.

From Foucher, 'L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara'

The period when Greek influence really made itself felt in India was after the break up of the Maurya dynasty, when the Bactrian Greeks were settled at Sangala, and the Sakas, Pahlavas, Kushans and other semi-Hellenized tribes from central Asia held sway on the North-West Frontier.

The most interesting question which arises in this connection is the influence of Hellenism upon Indian art. This is particularly noticeable in the case of sculpture. Before the coming of the Greeks, the Buddhists had refrained from depicting the Master in human form. He is represented only by symbols—the Lotus, the Umbrella, the Wheel of the Law, his footprints and so forth. It was from Greek artisans, during the Scytho-Parthian supremacy, that the so-called Gandhara school of Indian sculpture arose, innumerable examples of which have been found all over the North-West Frontier. In them, not only does the Buddha appear in the guise of the Greek Apollo, but scenes from the Jâtakas, or Birth Stories, are treated with the greatest animation and originality.

It was from Greece that the use of images, perhaps also of temples, passed into Buddhism and Hinduism. The 'bastard' school of Indo-Greek Buddhist sculpture, which became more and more pronouncedly Indian and less Greek in style as time went on, reached its culminating point under Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushan kings (perhaps about A.D. 120).

The Kushans were responsible for the diffusion of Hellenistic influence in another direction. On the north their empire stretched over the Pamirs, and included parts of Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. There they came into collision with the Chinese, and from this period we

may date the beginning of the intercourse between Buddhist India and China. Through this channel also Hellenistic art penetrated into the heart of central Asia. Seal impressions of the Athena and Eros types were found in the buried cities of Khotan by Sir Aurel Stein, and that region, now a waterless desert, was, in the early part of the Christian era, the meeting-place of four great civilizations—Graeco-Roman, Iranian, Indian and Chinese.

MONUMENTS OF EARLY NORTH-WEST INDIAN CULTURE

Miles of ruins, near the modern Rawalpindi, now represent the once great city of Taxila which submitted to Alexander after he crossed the Indus and where he paused to refresh his troops before marching to crush Porus on the farther bank of the Hydaspes. Most imposing of the Buddhist monuments unearthed here or elsewhere in the Punjab is this 'Great Stupa of the Royal Law' erected in the first century B.C. and set about by many shrines and chapels.

Courtesy of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India

Buddhism spread to China about the year A.D. 61. There was considerable intercourse between the Chinese and the semi-Hellenic court of the Kushans at Peshawar, the home of Gandhara art, during the following century. The introduction of Buddhism into China was followed by a steady stream of Chinese pilgrims to places associated with the life of the Master, and Chinese savants went to study at the Indian universities of Nalanda and Taxila. They brought back with them, as we learn from the records of the Chinese travellers, relics in the shape of statuettes and images of the Buddha, and these were reproduced by Chinese artisans. The earliest Buddhist bronzes in China belong to the end of the fourth century after Christ, and began about one hundred years later. To this period—the time of the Wai dynasty—belong the grottoes of Tun Huang in Chinese Turkistan, with their interesting statues and mural paintings, which are obviously far more akin to Gandhara than to Gupta forms of art. In the words of a distinguished scholar, 'Greek influence, in the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries of our era, had extended to Chinese Turkistan with Buddhist art, and then finally reached China proper, and the last ripples of the waves of Greek influence had been felt even on the shores of the Pacific Ocean.'

GOLD COINS OF KANISHKA

Kanishka, greatest of the Kushan emperors, reigned at Peshawar probably about A.D. 120. Here he is figured in Turki costume; the inscription is in Khotanese, in modified Greek characters. On the reverse is an Indo-Iranian deity. The coin agrees in weight with the Roman 'aureus.'

British Museum

Chinese Buddhist art

To sum up, it may be safely asserted that the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman art of Asia Minor certainly infused new life into India. But the profound temperamental difference between the Indian and Greek mind prevented Greek art from ever exercising a lasting influence. The Greek gods and goddesses are glorified human beings; the Indian god is an attempt to express in terms of art a metaphysical conception.

Otherwise, the influence of Greece on India was comparatively slight. The tendency was for the Greeks to become Indianized, rather than for the Hindus to become Hellenized. Hinduism has always shown a wonderful power of absorbing and assimilating foreign elements.

The resemblances between Homer and the Indian epics, the Greek and Sanskrit drama, Platonism and the Vedanta philosophy and the like, are vague and unsatisfactory when strictly investigated, and rest on a very slender basis, literary or historical. The same may be said of the so-called parallels between the Gita and the Gospels, Buddhist and Christian ethics, and the birth-stories of Krishna or Buddha and Christ. In one respect, however, India frankly acknowledged her indebtedness to Greece. 'The Yavanas are barbarians,' says the author of the Sanskrit astronomical work, the Gargi Samhita, 'yet the science of astronomy originated with them, and for this they must be reverenced as gods.' Of the five Siddhantas, or Sanskrit systems of astronomy, two, the Paulisa (named after Paul of Alexandria, A.D. 378) and the Romaka, are of undoubted western origin.

BUDDHIST BANNER FROM TUN HUANG

In the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang Sir Aurel Stein discovered a rich treasure of Buddhist pictorial art of the T'ang period. This temple banner is painted on strips of fine gauze-like silk, in a style in which Indian traditions are modified by Chinese influence.

From Stein, 'Desert Cathay,' by permission of the India Office

Special efforts have been made to connect the Hindu 'nâtaka' with the Greek drama. It was contended that 'strolling players' from Greece must surely have acted at the court of a cultured monarch like the Bactrian Menander, as they did at the court of the Ptolemies in Alexandria and of the Parthian kings at Ctesiphon; Ujjain (the Greek Ozenê), one of the earliest centers of the Sanskrit drama, was, as we know from the Periplus, connected by a direct route with Broach (Barygaza), the chief port of trade with Alexandria, and one of the imports was 'Greek girls' (the Yavani or Ionian girls of the Sanskrit plays) for the royal harems; the 'Greek curtain' (Yavanikâ) was used on the Hindu stage; the Greek 'chorodidaskalos' (chorus-master) is the Indian 'sûtra dhâra'; and there are many features, for instance the 'Vidushakha,' or Pimp, and the Parasite or Miles Gloriosus, common to the Hindu drama and the new Attic comedy.

But none of these arguments bears close scrutiny. There is no evidence to prove that Greek players attempted perilous journey across the Hindu Kush to Sangala; the Yavani of the Sanskrit plays are Amazons forming the royal bodyguard, not actresses; the so-called 'Greek curtain' was merely made of imported material (Coan silk or the like), and not borrowed from the Greek stage; the resemblance of the Vidushakha to the Pimp is no stranger than his resemblance to the Shakesperian clown; and, in a word, equally close (and equally fortuitous) parallels might be found between the Elizabethan and Hindu

stages and stagecraft.

We have now concluded our survey of the influence of Hellenism upon India and the East. Is it possible also to trace any reflex action upon Hellenism on the part of the Orient? Did the Greeks and Romans themselves absorb anything from the Oriental nations with whom they came into contact? This is an interesting problem. We know nothing of the fate of the Buddhist mission which Asoka dispatched to the West, and attempts to trace Buddhist influences in early Christianity are mere guesses. The Greeks heard a good deal about the 'Gymnosophists' of India from Megasthenes and others, but they were in no way impressed by their teaching. Greek exclusiveness despised 'barbarian' ideas as foolish and meaningless, and regarded them merely as curiosities.

CLASSICAL ART IN CHINESE TURKISTAN

The classical type is obvious in the heads above and especially in the central Bodhisattva. All come from Kara-Shahr in Chinese Turkistan.

From Sir Aurel Stein, 'Ruins of Desert Cathay'

But at a later period India and Greece came into closer contact in the cosmopolitan porticoes of Alexandria. Plotinus, with his pantheism and his mystic union with the Infinite, is obviously steeped in Vedanta and Yoga philosophy. The same is true in a less pronounced degree of

BLEND OF GRAECO-INDIAN AND CHINESE ART AT TUN HUANG

Situated near the main trade routes between West and East, Tun Huang in outer Khansu was equally accessible to both Graeco-Buddhist and Chinese Buddhist influence. The hundreds of shrines known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas are extraordinarily rich in frescoes and stucco sculptures. Almost all the shrines contain groups like the above representing Buddha between disciples.

From Sir Aurel Stein, 'Ruins of Desert Cathay,' by permission of the India Office

writers like Origen. Oriental influence upon the development of Christianity is a theme which would require a chapter to itself. The strange craze for the ascetic life, which drove hundreds of hermits like S. Anthony (A.D. 356) out into the Libyan desert, and caused others to indulge in repulsive forms of penance, like S. Simon Stylites, may be traced directly to the Indian Yogi.

The Gnostic heresy, which arose partly at Alexandria and partly at Antioch, in the second century A.D., obviously owes a great deal, especially its dualism—the Eternal Conflict between Light and Darkness—to Zoroastrianism. Manichaeism, that strange farrago of Christian, Zoroastrian and Hindu beliefs, arose in the neighborhood of Babylon in the sixth century A.D. Mithraism (see Chap. 74), one of the most formidable of the early rivals of Christianity which pervaded the Roman Empire right up to the Great Wall of Britain, and undoubtedly influenced the development of Christian doctrine, was of Persian origin. And lastly, strange Oriental deities, Cybele, Attis, Adonis, Astarte, Osiris and Isis, crept stealthily into the Graeco-Roman pantheon.

In one other respect Hellenism made itself felt in the East. The Mahomedan conquerors of the Byzantine Empire owed much of their culture to Greek sources. Aristotle was early translated into Arabic and became the foundation stone of Arabian philosophy; it was through Latin translations of the Arabic version, curiously enough, that he was known to medieval Europe. Similarly, it was from Hippocrates and Galen that the Arabic schools of medicine took their rise. The Arabic indebtedness to Greece in mathematics and geography is equally profound.

From the time of the Macedonian conquest of the middle East, the influence of Greek culture may be traced almost all over Asia, and it is difficult to find any branch of art or literature where its effect has not been felt.

THE CELTIC PEOPLES: THEIR CULTURE AND THEIR TRAGEDY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTING FOLK WHO FORMED THE BARBARIC BACKGROUND TO GREEK AND ROMAN CIVILIZATION

By R. A. S. MACALISTER

Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin; Author of A Text-book of European Archaeology, The Archaeology of Ireland, etc.

THE word 'Celtic' in the heading of this chapter is one of the most difficult to define in the whole range of anthropological or historical literature. The word was used by ancient Greek and Latin writers as a label by which they denoted certain peoples of central and northern Europe. Whence they derived it is unknown; they may have learned it from some of the folk whom they thus designated; but the word has no certain etymology in any of the existing Celtic languages. As used by the classical writers in question, it was a vague geographical term, conveniently standing for the barbarians (as they were considered) of a certain area of the Continent, but in no respect defining them racially or linguistically.

In modern literature the word is almost equally vague, except in the department of philology. The languages called 'Celtic' are distinguished from the other members of the indo-European family of languages by certain definite peculiarities.

The languages thus distinguished fall into two classes, called Goidelic lan- Brythonic. The modern Goidelic languages are the Gaelic of Ireland, the Scottish Highlands and the Isle of Man; all three are so closely cognate that they may be regarded as dialects of one tongue rather than three separate languages. In the Isle of Man, where the language is moribund, its essential similarity to the languages of the other two countries is concealed by an absurd would-be phonetic spelling. The Brythonic languages are Welsh and its near cognates, Breton and the extinct Cornish.

Materials for the study of ancient forms of these languages exist in the early inscriptions of the Continental Celts; the early inscriptions of Great Britain and Ireland, especially those in the Ogham character; and the ancient literatures of Ireland and Wales. The Breton language of France is to be grouped with the Insular Celtic languages, not with the Continental, as it was the tongue of a colony from Britain, founded by Celts driven out before the advancing Saxons.

If we turn from this clearly defined group of languages, and analyse the racial peculiarities of the people who speak them, we find ourselves involved in utter confusion. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there are as many different racial types among the Celtic speakers as there are among the inhabitants of the whole of Europe. Caesar, for instance, tells us that the Celts, Belgae and Aquitani differed in language, institutions and laws; while on the other hand he sees no difference between the Gauls and the Germans except in customs. On the other hand Strabo, writing at the end of the first century B.C., notes a difference between the Gauls and the Germans in physical character, the latter being taller and fairer, but a similarity in manners. A number of inconsistencies of the same kind might be collected, tending to show that the ancient writers were but superficial observers, and that their classification of peoples as 'Celtic' was a mere label, and probably included scattered tribes here and there that were not Celtic in any real sense at all.

Those who, like Tacitus in the second century A.D., came into direct contact with the Celtic people observed that they were not racially homogeneous. Tacitus distinguishes three types in Britain: the large-limbed, red-haired Caledonii, the

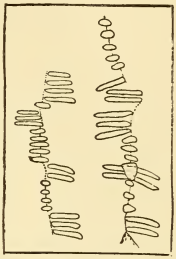
Miles
0 50 100 200 300
6TH-5TH CENTURIES B.C.
4TH CENTURY B.C.
390 B.C.
279 B.C.
277 B.C.
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
BRITAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMANY
SARMATIA
SCYTHIA
BELGICA
TREVIRI
Trèves
BRITTANY
Chartres
CELTICA
GALLIA TRANSALPINA
GALLIA CISALPINA
VENETIA
NORICUM
Salzburg
Hallstatt
Constance
La Tène
Neuchâtel
Geneva
Padua
DACIA
Noviodunum
MOESIA
Black Sea
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
LIGURIA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
ILYRIA
PAEONIA
THRACE
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
GALATIA
MACEDONIA
THESSALY
GREECE
Thermopylae
Delphi
Athens
Corinth
Sparta
Chersonesus
Lysimachia
Pergamum
ASIA MINOR
CARIA
Taurus Mts
Cyprus
Rhodes
Sea of Marmara
Sea of Crete
Mt Oeta
Mt Pindus
Mt Olympus
Mt Ida
Mt Taurus
Mt Pyrenees
Mt Jura
Mt Vosges
Mt Cevennes
Mt Alps
Mt Carpathians
Mt Balkans
Mt Caucasus
Mt Ural
Mt Atlas
Mt Etna
Mt Vesuvius
Mt Olympus
Mt Ossa
Mt Pelion
Mt Parnassus
Mt Cithaeron
Mt Taygetus
Mt Pentelicus
Mt Hymettus
Mt Pindus

ruddy-faced, curly-haired Silures, and the dwellers on the south coast of England, who resembled the Gauls.

The writers of classical antiquity differ as widely on the moral as on the racial qualities of the Gauls. Caesar and Livy describe them as being above all things religious; Cicero denies that they possess any feeling of piety and justice. Polybius says that they are perfidious; Strabo says that they have a simple and open nature, devoid of guile. Pausanias extols the strategical skill of their leader when they attacked Delphi; Strabo says that they fought with courage, but without military ruses. Diodorus speaks of their being inordinately fond of gold; Athenaeus asserts that some of them allowed no gold to enter their country. Some say that they were hospitable to strangers; Diodorus says that Heracles abolished among them the custom of sacrificing strangers.

In short, the word 'Celtic,' as a racial term, is devoid of scientific meaning; if it is used at all to denote communities of people, it must be employed in the strictly geographical sense given to it by ancient writers, or else as a convenient generic label for the Celtic-speaking peoples.

This, however, is not a complete statement of the case. The parent language of the Celtic group must have developed in some single, probably isolated, community, which we may presume to have had a certain racial uniformity. If we can find a place of origin, and determine the racial characters of its inhabitants in early times, then it is legitimate to regard those characters as distinguishing the original Celtic people. The French scholar D'Arbois de Jubainville has endeavored to find such a place of origin, and he has fixed it in the region between the head-waters of the Rhine and those of the Danube.



It is to be observed in most countries that the names of rivers are usually the oldest topographical terms on the map.

D'Arbois argues that if a territory can be found in which the river names are predominantly Celtic, then that territory is the place where the Celtic languages were aboriginal. The region named above satisfies the conditions. If this be granted, we must regard the short, stocky, moderately dark complexioned, broad-

CELTIC WORDS IN OGHAM CHARACTERS

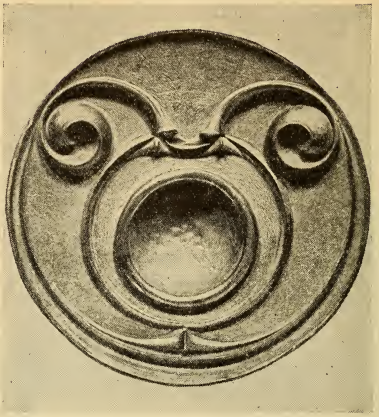
Devised in Ireland for inscribing on stone, the Ogham alphabet consisted of straight lines and dots. Two ancient Gaelic names are carved in Ogham on one edge of the Llywell stone from Breconshire (left); the great monolith at Crag in Kerry (right) bears a similar inscription, a tracing of which is shown above.

From British Museum and Macalister, 'Irish Epigraphy'

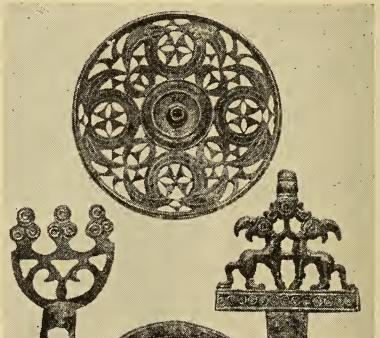
headed Alpine man as the racial Celt.

At the time when the Celtic language was in process of formation, Europe must have been occupied by a large number of small scattered communities, in the Neolithic stage of culture, separated each from the others by belts of forest land, and speaking a babel of different tongues, very few of them belonging to the Indo-European family. The ancestors of the Celtic-speakers must for a long time have lived in close connection with the people who formed the Italian branch of tongues, of which Latin is the best known representative; for among the Indo-European families of languages, the Italian branch is that which comes most nearly into relationship with the Celtic family.

The history of the spread of the Celtic languages over Europe is very imperfectly known. Place names, from Nertobriga, 'the strong hill,' in Spain, to Noviodunum, 'the new fortress,' in Rumania, testify to their former wide extension: the map of Europe is strewn all over with Celtic wreckage.



The artistic genius of the Celts in the La Tène period found its most adequate expression in the decoration of metal work. Their distinctive form of ornament, partly floral, partly geometric, is seen in this bronze disk from Ireland.



The Gauls had already attained to a very high standard of artistry during La Tène I. These bronze harness pieces were discovered in the chariot-burial of Somme Bionne (see page 781).

But it is from a writer of the end of the second century B.C., Poseidonius of Apamea, that we obtain our fullest information as to the social life of the Gauls. It is much to be regretted that the book in which he described his travels is lost, with the rest of his numerous writings; the fragments which survive—quotations embedded in the works of more fortunate but less deserving authors such as Athenaeus, Strabo and Diodorus of Sicily—show us what a heavy loss this is. He was evidently a man of kindly and sympathetic nature, and a good observer.

The Gauls, Poseidonius tells us, were tall, and had white skins. They had yellow hair, which they were in the habit of washing frequently in a decoction of lime, in order to make it lustrous. They brushed their hair up to the top of the head,

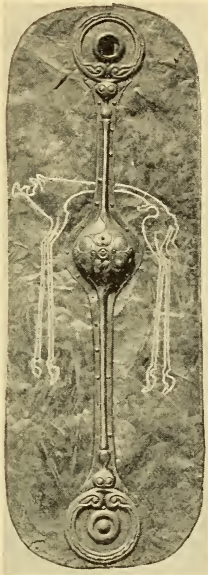
and thence to the nape of the neck. Some shaved the beard, while others allowed it to grow to a moderate length. The nobles shaved the cheeks, but allowed the moustache to grow until it covered the mouth.

During meals they did not sit upon benches, but on hides of dogs or of wolves spread upon the ground; and the youngest children acted as attendants. At the side were blazing fires upon which were cauldrons, and spits upon which were entire quarters of meat. The best part of the joint was offered to the chief men as an honor. Passing strangers were invited to partake in the banquets, and it was a point of etiquette not to ask their names or their business until the feast was over.

The food consisted of large quantities of meat and gravy, accompanied by a few loaves. The party sat in a circle, he who was most distinguished by military prowess, lineage or wealth in the middle, and the other guests arranged on each side, in regular order of precedence. In wealthy companies the drink was Massilian wine; the poorer folk drank 'corma,' a sort of beer brewed from wheat and sweetened with honey.

Before a battle one would go in front of the lines, and would challenge the bravest of the enemy to a duel; and should any of the combatants accept the challenge, his side would sing the prowess of their ancestors and vaunt their own deeds, heaping the while abuse and reviling upon the enemy. Slaughtered enemies were beheaded, and the heads were hung on the necks of the horses; when carried home they were embalmed, and either preserved in caskets or nailed on the houses. This custom at first repelled Poseidonius, but in time he, even as Londoners, became accustomed to it.

When traveling, and in war, the Gauls rode in two-horse chariots; if used for fighting, each of them accommodated a fighting man and a charioteer.



RICH DECORATION ON BRITISH SHIELD

The oblong shields of the Celts, of bronze or wood reinforced with metal, were often artistically ornamented, like this example from Lincolnshire. The patterns of its bosses, and the stylized boar —once riveted on, now lost, but recognizable from the discolored metal—are designs of extraordinary skill.

British Museum

They wore tunics dyed in many colors, with variegated flowers embroidered upon them, and a leg-wear called 'bracae,' breeches. They had striped cloaks fastened at the shoulder with brooches. Their defensive armor consisted of a shield of the height of a man, often ornamented with bronze figures of animals and a bronze helmet with large projections, giving the wearer the appearance of one of huge stature.

Their faces were grim, and their voices deep and gruff. They exaggerated in lauding themselves, or in belittling others; but they were acute-minded, and were not inept in receiving instruction.

Gaulish Bards and Druids

The Gauls had bards, who sang panegyrics and satires, accompanying themselves upon instruments resembling lyres. They also had druids, who were highly honored philosophers and theologians; and likewise soothsayers, who predicted the future from inspection of the entrails of victims and from the flight of birds. These men of learning had great influence in peace and in war.

To a certain extent these selections from the reports of eye-witnesses can be confirmed by archaeological or literary evidence. The mode of dressing the hair, the costume, the chariots are represented to the life on the remarkable series of bronze buckets and other figured objects that have been found in central Europe and northern Italy. The orderly arrangement of the banqueting hall at

Tara, as it is reported to us by Irish manuscript authorities, illustrates the description of the Gaulish feasts.

The ancient Irish romance called The Feast of Bricriu turns on the custom of giving the chief portion of meat to the chief man present. The tale of the Cattle Raid of Cúalnge gives us illustrations of the chariots with their fighting man and their charioteer. The preservation of the head of a conquered foe reappears in Irish literature in the tale of the Swine of Mac Dá Thó

Although the Celtic languages and culture probably originated among a tribe of Alpine stock, it does not by any means follow that all the people of Alpine stock were Celtic-speaking, nor that all the Celtic-speaking people were of the Alpine stock. It is indeed more than probable that at the beginning of the Bronze Age in northern Europe—say 2500-2000 B.C.—the community with specifically 'Celtic' characteristics was comparatively small; whereas the testimony of ancient graves and their osteological contents shows that the Alpine stock was then spread over a wider territory than it occupied in later times. It has had to yield, step by step, to the aggressive 'peaceful penetration' of the Nordic peoples. The diffusion of 'Celticity' throughout Europe coincides with the spread of iron rather than with that of bronze.

In the countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean iron began to be used, roughly, about 1000 B.C.—perhaps a little earlier. In the heart of Europe it began somewhere about 800 B.C. (see Chap. 23). In the north-west of Europe it does not certainly appear till about 400-350 B.C.

ENDURING WORK OF CELTIC ARMOURERS

Bronze helmets were worn by the Gauls from early times. The tall, conical specimen seen above (upper) is of the fifth century B.C., and was probably copied from Greek models. The casque with projecting neck guard is of the second century B.C.

British Museum

Strictly speaking, the Iron Age is still in progress but in dealing with European archaeology it is convenient to restrict the Iron Age to the time of the greatest extension of the Roman empire—say about A.D. 100.

This epoch of nine or ten centuries is divided into two periods. The first of these is named after Hallstatt, a village about thirty miles from Salzburg, the site of a great cemetery of the earlier stages of the Iron Age. The second is named after La Tène, the site of an ancient military station on the shore of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, belonging to the second Iron Age phase. The Hallstatt civilization is practically confined to eastern and southern Europe. While it was there dominant, western and northern Europe were still in the later phases of their Bronze Age.

The form of culture especially associated with the Celtic peoples in northern and central Europe is, therefore, the later phase of the Iron Age, named after La Tène. This settlement was discovered at the outlet of Lake Neuchâtel. Close to the place where the river Thièle flows out of the lake there was a shallow place which became uncovered by drainage operations. This shallow proved to be a bank of peat overlaid with gravel. The gravel contained fragments of Roman pottery and tiles, as well as Roman coins; the peat contained the remains of a village of pre-Roman date.

On investigation, the 'village' proved to have been a military station. This was suggested by the large quantity of weapons and muniments of war found on the site, as contrasted with the small quantity of personal ornaments. The remains were clearly not Roman, and as

ALIEN MANNERS FINELY REPRESENTED BY MEANS OF CELTIC ART

In North Italy the original metallurgical art of the later Hallstatt civilization underwent notable refinement, probably as a result of contact with Etruscan ideals. These two strips of reliefs, developed from the bronze pail in page 595, found near Bologna, represent scenes of everyday Etruscan life—a procession of priests and priestesses with sacrifices (top) and revellers making music (below)—but are plainly the work of a non-Etruscan craftsman under Late Hallstatt influence.

After Montélius, 'Civilisation primitive en Italie'

clearly not of the earlier Hallstatt culture; they fall between the two, and must be assigned to somewhere between 500 B.C. and A.D. 100.

The Periods of La Tene Culture

The La Tène culture is divided into three periods, each of about two hundred years duration: La Tène I from 500 to 300 B.C., La Tène II from 300 to 100 B.C., La Tène III from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. Some authorities would continue this nomenclature still further, calling the period of the Roman domination of the Celtic and some of the Teutonic countries La Tène IV, and dividing the subsequent centuries into four more periods. But it is more convenient to separate them from the pre-Roman period in view of the profound changes made, first, by the spread of the Roman empire, and subsequently by Christianity.

The three periods of La Tène culture are distinguished by certain points of difference in some of their productions. The swords of La Tène I had straight-edged blades of moderate size, and were kept in scabbards with open-work decoration on the chapes or ferules. Helmets of beaten bronze, torques, bracelets and elaborate belt-clasps are found in deposits of this period. Ornaments of Graeco-Italian workmanship were imported to the provinces where this culture was indigenous—testimony to the existence of trade.

The normal method of disposing of the dead in this period was by burial, though cremation was also practiced to some extent.

Remains of the second period of La Tène culture have been found over all northern and western Europe. The swords of this period are longer than those of La Tène I, and with slightly rounded tip; there is a guard at the junction of the blade and the hilt, to prevent the owner's hand from slipping. This guard, in the second period, is gracefully curved, resembling the outline of a bell. The open-work scabbard ferules disappear, and metal chains take the place of straps for securing the sword to the waist. Shields are made of wood, but garnished with metal ornaments and mountings; there is an 'umbo,' in the shape of a half cylinder, at the center.

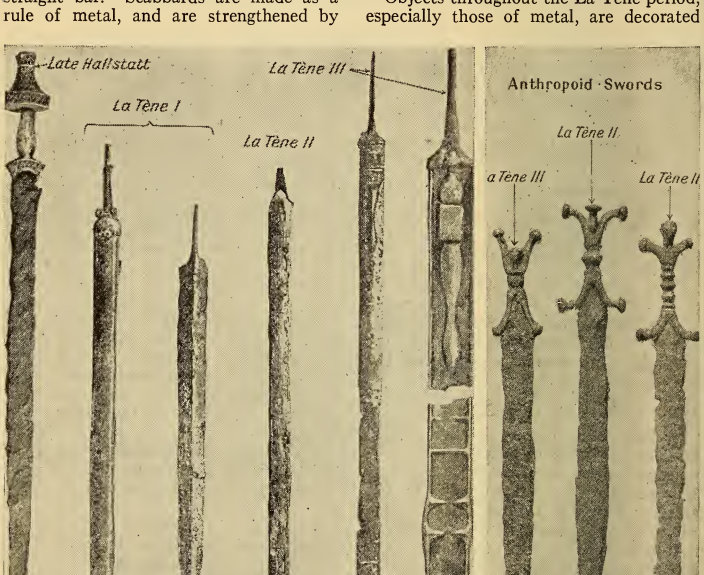
Coins begin to appear—barbarous copies

of classical originals. Glass bracelets are also found, and spiral finger and arm rings of metal are common. Importations from classical centers are, if anything, more frequent. Burial was a much more usual funerary practice than cremation, though the latter was not unknown.

In La Tène III we find a tendency to degeneration in the manifestations of culture. The swords are as in the preceding period, but the graceful curved guard is gone; in its place there is a straight bar. Scabbards are made as a rule of metal, and are strengthened by ladder-like ribs of metal crossing the side at intervals. The umbo of the typical shield of La Tène III is hemispherical in shape, not the half-cylinder of La Tène II. Keys now first appear; and writing is found scratched on potsherds. Bracelets with the open ends worked into spirals, and globular pendants, are common. Cremation is the commoner method of disposing of the dead.

Character of Celtic ornament

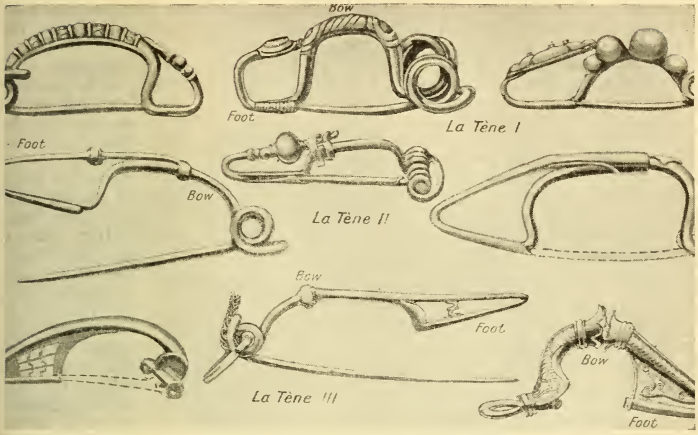
Objects throughout the La Tène period, especially those of metal, are decorated



CHANGING STYLES OF SWORDS MARK VARIATIONS IN CELTIC CULTURE

Each of the forms and periods of Celtic culture had its characteristic varieties of swords. The earliest specimen here shown is of the Hallstatt era—a massive weapon of iron, with an ivory and amber pommel. Light and short during the first La Tène stage, swords became progressively heavier and longer during the two succeeding periods, being further distinguished by their ornamental scabbards. The so-called 'anthropoid' swords were developed from a Hallstatt prototype.

British Museum and Déchelette, 'La collection Millon'



CULTURAL PROGRESS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE PATTERNS OF BROOCHES

The three periods of La Tène culture each had a distinctive form of fibula, or brooch. In that of La Tène I the foot curved upwards and backwards to meet the bow, to which, however, it was not fastened; whereas in La Tène II, while also curving backwards, it was secured to the bow by a collar. In the fibulae of La Tène III the foot was bent inwards to meet the underside of the bow with which it coalesced (see center specimen), and latterly became a solid, decorated plate.

British Museum

with the characteristic ornament of the time. This is a very beautiful and artistic phase of decorative art, yet it is almost impossible to express its characteristics in words. It is not wholly floral, nor yet wholly geometrical; a geometrical basis is generally assumed; but it is of a very free nature. The framework is then overlaid with a rich floral treatment, the leaf of the honeysuckle being the chief inspiration; so that the geometrical basis is often most difficult to trace. Nowhere was this art more successfully cultivated than in Great Britain and Ireland.

In English books it is the custom to speak of La Tène decoration as 'Late Celtic'—a term for which there is not much justification. If we use this term we shall be obliged to call the art of Celtic Christianity 'Later Celtic,' which would be clumsy. The name La Tène itself is not wholly free from objection, for it exalts unduly a site which is neither the oldest nor the richest, but happened to be the first to attract scientific attention; the site actually belongs to La Tène II, and its yield of characteristic ornaments has been comparatively scanty. We must remember that the name is only a label, and that it is convenient to retain it as such because it is used by the majority of scholars.

It might have been expected that the use of iron would have spread more rapidly over Europe than it actually did.

The advantage of iron was twofold; not only were iron weapons immeasurably superior to weapons of bronze, but those to whom iron was accessible were independent of the uncertainties, vicissitudes and limitations of the tin trade. Tin was an essential ingredient of bronze; but there was only a limited number of sources of supply of this metal open to Europeans. Whenever these should be closed by hostilities or otherwise, it was difficult for those shut out from the tin trade to equip an army adequately.

Guarded Mystery of Smith-craft

It is quite clear that the art of the smith was regarded as a mystery. Both in

Teutonic and in Celtic folk-lore the smith is a magician, and there is good reason to believe that it was the Celtic community which somehow became acquainted with the mystery of smith-craft, and by its aid spread their conquests directly or indirectly over the greater part of northern Europe, and thus overlaid so many diverse peoples of northern and central Europe with a veneer of Celtic culture.

The possession of iron gave those who had it a superiority over Bronze Age people. The introduction of iron must therefore inevitably have brought much unrest in its train.

Let us take Ireland as a test case. If Ireland had been from the first in touch with the Celtic world, we cannot doubt that she would have shared in the earlier stages of the iron culture. But this is far from being the case. Very few objects of the Hallstatt period have been found in Ireland. Even the first stage of the La Tène period is unknown. A continuous iron culture does not begin until the second La Tène period, say about 300-350 B.C. The inference surely must be that there was an Iron Age invasion of the country in the beginning of the second La Tène period, and as the inhabitants before this event were Bronze Age aborigines, who there is no reason to suppose were Celtic or even necessarily Indo-European in speech, we infer that here at least the iron culture and the Celtic culture were introduced simultaneously and by the same people.

USED IN GAULISH FUNERARY RITES

Domestic vessels were customarily interred with the dead. The Somme Bionne grave (opposite) contained a bronze flagon with a handle attachment of Celtic design (here enlarged), and a Greek fifth century kylix giving the date of the tomb.

British Museum

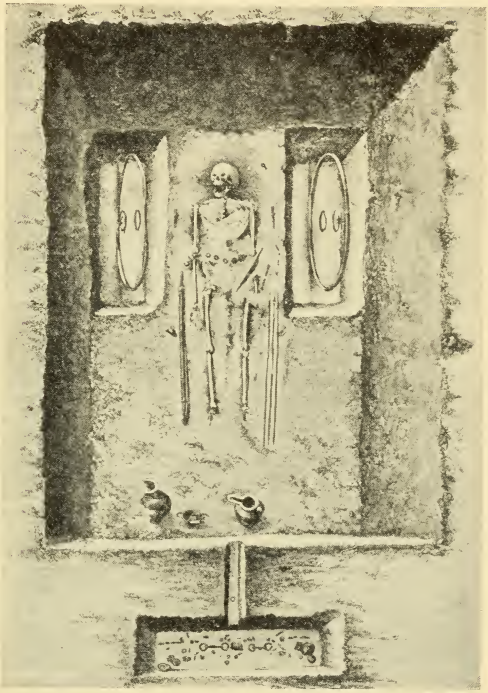
The Celticisation of Ireland advanced very slowly. In the map of Ireland that can be reconstructed from the data given us by Ptolemy most of the tribes living on the sea coast still bear non-Celtic names, with the exception of those in the southeast. It was this part of the country, as other evidence also leads us to believe, that was originally invaded by the Celts. There can be little doubt that its objective was the Wicklow goldfields.

One of the most interesting and instructive aspects of the Celticisation of central and northern Europe is to be seen in the domain of religion. After the Romanization of Gaul, the old gods were assimilated, superficially, to the deities of the Roman conquerors; and devotees, who wished to express their gratitude to these gods for favors received, erected tablets and altars to them under their old names and their new, side by side. For example, a man was thankful that a friend had come safe from battle, and so erected an altar to a deity whom he called Mars Caturix. Caturix means 'battle-king,' and was undoubtedly the name of an old war god of the district who had become assimilated

to the war god of Rome.

If now we analyze very numerous names of these local divinities, which have been preserved on monuments like this, we find that they fall into two classes. Some, by far the larger number, are purely local divinities.

Besides these petty local and seemingly aboriginal deities, there is a small minority of the names of gods which are to be found universally over the whole extension of the Celtic languages. Grannos, equated to Apollo, Esus, equated, apparently, to Mercurius, are examples of this. The explanation seems clear. The petty gods that form the first group were the local gods of mountains, waterfalls, healing springs, etc., which were worshipped by the neolithic aborigines, each in his own region. The Celtic invaders came with their iron weapons; they absorbed the gods of the newly conquered territory, assimilating their names to their own phonetic traditions, while at the same time they imported their own pantheon, consisting originally in the local gods of their own land of origin.



MILITARY GEAR BURIED WITH WARRIOR

During the period of La Tène a dead man's war-chariot and weapons were sometimes entombed with him, as in this grave at Somme Bionne. The position of the skeleton between the wheels, with the bridle trappings of two horses beyond its feet, shows that it originally rested on the chariot's axle and pole.

British Museum, Morel Collection

To trace chronologically the progress of Celtic conquest over the Continent north of the Alps is impossible. We have no materials for doing so. It must have been a matter of many centuries, but it never found its chronicler. Livy gives us one brief glimpse. He tells us that in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome, there was a good and upright king of the people of the Bituriges, by name Ambigatus. During his reign Gaul was so full of crops and of men that it could scarcely be governed. Feeling the advance of old age, Ambigatus abdicated, and divided his kingdom between his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Segovesus. This story Livy tells as a preliminary incident to the first entry of the Gauls into world-history, their invasion of central Italy and sack of Rome in 390 B.C.

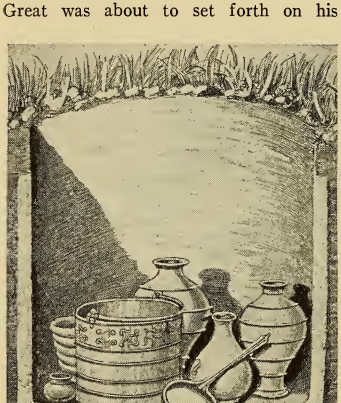
The story can hardly be authentic history. It is indeed something more valuable than history. It is a saga, or rather the attenuated abstract of a saga. This

waif of tradition, preserved in an alien literature, suggests to us that the Continental Celts, like those of the islands, possessed a saga literature, and that among the crimes of the so-called Pax Romana is to be counted the extinction of this ancient picture of a forgotten life.

The Gaulish advance into Italy, which culminated in the sack of Rome in 390 B.C., was probably an incident in the same movement which led to the Celtic colonization of Ireland. There must have been much unrest among the Celtic and Celticised folk of the time, expressed in a search for fresh fields of conquest. Their territories were too cramped, and they were seeking outlets for expansion.

It is difficult to avoid connecting these events with the economic changes that must necessarily have resulted from the introduction of iron.

The same century witnessed a picturesque incident in another part of Celtdom. In 335 B.C. Alexander the Great was about to set forth on his Eastern expedition. The heads of certain Celtic communities came to visit him, and he made terms with them, arranging that they should protect Macedonia from invasion while he was away.



RICH FURNITURE OF PIT GRAVE

The dead were usually cremated in La Tène III, and the ashes buried in vases. To this period belong the pit graves found at Aylesford; that shown here (in section) contains bronze utensils as well as the cinerary earthenware.

British Museum, 'Iron Age Guide'

Twelve years later Alexander stood in Babylon, a conqueror; and his faithful Celtic allies were among those who sent messengers to congratulate him. Alexander, we may well believe, sent them away with large gifts of money—and most likely the Macedonian coins which the envoys brought back with them supplied the models upon which the majority of the native Gaulish and British coins were based. These certainly are barbaric copies of Macedonian originals.

Gaulish attack on Delphi

In the century following the Gaulish sack of Rome there took place a second incident of the same kind: the attack upon Delphi in the year 279. The invasion is picturesquely described in excerpts from earlier historians preserved by Pausanias. No special reason for the invasion is assigned; but it must have been partly desire for plunder, and partly the external manifestation of movements within the Celtic world, of which we have no historical record, and can know only from their reactions upon the civilizations of classical antiquity. The Gauls, we are told, live on the shore of a distant sea, which ebbs and flows—a phenomenon always impressive to writers accustomed to the tideless Mediterranean—and which is not navigable at its farthest part; an observation that probably refers to the thick pack-ice which rendered navigation difficult near the Arctic circle. To these people Greece offered tempting baits. Several attempts seem to have been made upon it about the time of which we are speaking.

The first was under the leadership of one Cambaules, who succeeded only in penetrating as far as Thrace. A second and more formidable expedition was then fitted out to attack the country at three points. One army under Cerethrius was to attack Thrace; a second under Brennus and Acichorius went against Paeonia; and a third under Bolgius made for Macedonia and Illyria. This triple expedition was also a comparative failure; but Brennus would not be discouraged. He persisted in stimulating his people with the expectation of booty to be won in Greece.

Brennus with his colleague Acichorius made a third attempt. The Greeks had been weakened by their Macedonian wars, and proved unequal to withstand the huge army which Brennus is said to have commanded. Only the Athenians proved capable of meeting them, and they held against them the historic pass of Thermopylae, inflicting on the invaders a severe defeat.

Horrors of the sack of Callium

The latter tried to find a pass over Mount Oeta, but at first failed, and Brennus sent a number of his troops by a roundabout way into Aetolia, in order to draw off the people of that province from the defence of the pass. The siege and sack of Callium by this detachment, maddened by their preceding defeat, is said to have surpassed in ferocity any similar event in history. Returning from Callium, the Gauls found their retreat cut off by those who had come to the help of Aetolia, and were constrained to force their way through the Greek forces, leaving half of their own number dead on the way.

The main body of the Gauls still remained on the wrong side of Mount Oeta; and the neighboring town of Heraclea felt considerable alarm lest it should meet with the fate of Callium. To avert the menace, certain citizens treacherously undertook to guide Brennus to a pass over the mountain, by which he would be able to reach his objective, Delphi.

But the Gauls were not destined to succeed in their attempt. When they arrived at Delphi a terrific thunderstorm broke forth, easily explained by the superstitious warriors on both sides as a direct interference of the god on behalf of his most sacred shrine. The rout of the Gauls was complete. Brennus committed suicide, and his unfortunate followers straggled back by the way which they had come, running the gauntlet of the numerous enemies who lay between them and home.

The story of the Gaulish colonization of Asia Minor is related by Livy. According to him, the great army of Brennus had become divided by faction even while it was still in Thessaly; and a detachment of twenty thousand men under two leaders named Lonorius and Lutarius, turned eastward, and by a ruse captured Lysimachia, at the base of the peninsula called the Chersonese (Gallipoli). Here they could look across the narrow Propontis (Sea of Marmora) and the Hellespont to the tempting coasts of Asia Minor, which they coveted for themselves. They sent to Antipater of Macedonia for ships to ferry them across; Lutarius awaited them, while Lonorius advanced and occupied Byzantium. Antipater sent some ships.

CELTIC DEITY WITH ROMAN COMPEERS

Of the religion of the Celts we know little, but the images and Romanised names of many of their deities survive. The Gaulish Cernunnos, god of prosperity, is represented in this bas-relief seated between Apollo and Mercury. He is dressed in Celtic fashion, even having the characteristic metal collar.

Rheims Museum; photo, Giraudon

in pretense of complying with the request of the Gauls, but really to keep a watch upon the invaders. Lutarius, however, seized the ships, and with their aid transferred his men across the sea. Thus began the Galatian colony, the only recorded community of Celtic peoples outside the limits of Europe.

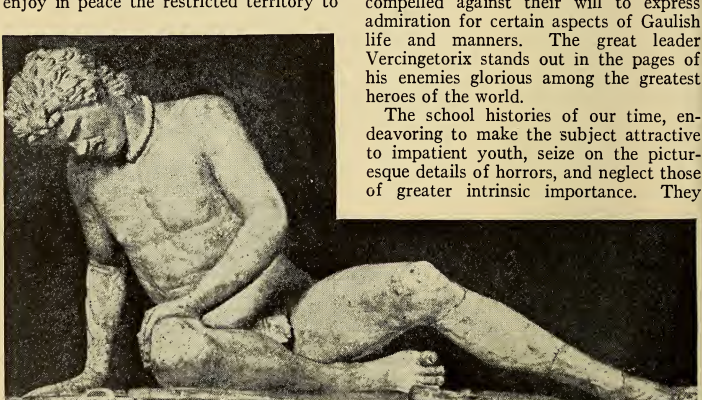
Gaulish Colony in Asia Minor

Lonorius was shortly afterwards invited across by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to assist him in his war against his brother Ziboetes. After winning the war for Nicomedes, the Gauls began a general progress of plunder through Asia Minor. They formed three communities—the Trocmi, who operated on the coasts of the Hellespont; the Tolistobogii, who ravaged Aeolia and Ionia; and the Tectosages, who laid the southern regions under contribution. This went on till the reign of Attalus I of Pergamum (241-197 B.C.), who forced the Gauls to confine themselves to a territory between the Sangarius and the Halys.

But the Gauls were not allowed to enjoy in peace the restricted territory to which they were now limited. The Romans, those implacable enemies of the Celtic world, saw in the warlike Gaulish colony a menace to their own dominion in the east. Manlius, the consul in 189 B.C., invaded Galatia and defeated them severely. From that time onward they were little more than mercenaries in the service of this Asian kinglet and that, and were usually treated with great treachery. About the middle of the last century B.C. they passed under Roman protection; but they contrived to maintain their ancestral language until at least the fourth century A.D.

Caesar gives us the fullest details about the Gauls that we possess from the hand of any Roman writer. His Commentary on the Gallic War is a mine of information; but it is naturally limited. His purpose is to describe his own operations, and he writes from the point of view of an enemy of the Gauls. The Romans came among the Celts as destroying conquerors, and they justified themselves for their own barbarities by painting their victims in the darkest colors. Yet they were compelled against their will to express admiration for certain aspects of Gaulish life and manners. The great leader Vercingetorix stands out in the pages of his enemies glorious among the greatest heroes of the world.

The school histories of our time, endeavoring to make the subject attractive to impatient youth, seize on the picturesque details of horrors, and neglect those of greater intrinsic importance. They



REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GAULISH HORDES THAT RAVAGED ASIA MINOR

To mark his triumph over the Gauls in Asia Minor Attalus I of Pergamum erected statues of his vanquished foes, both at Pergamum and at Athens. Gaulish barbarism is clearly suggested (possibly with hostile exaggeration) in the figure above—the splendid physique and strong, rough features being typical of these northern warriors. Note the typical 'torque' round the neck of the 'Dying Gaul.'

Capitoline Museum, Rome; photo, Anderson

tell us of wild folk with nothing between them and nakedness but a coat of blue paint; but they say nothing of the civilized Cantii, or of the active trade carried on between Ireland and the Continent in wine and other commodities. They tell us of druids burning people alive in wicker crates; but they are silent respecting the solemn druidic assemblies, or of their schools with a severe discipline of study lasting sometimes for twenty years.

The holocausts of human beings undoubtedly took place. But everything tends to show that they were exceptional and that, moreover, in the majority of cases the victims were criminals under sentence of death in any case. That druidic superstitions and barbarities became more and more emphasized in the later Roman writers is only to be expected; for the more the Celtic people had to do with the Romans, the more frequent became the occasions that seemed to call for such sacrifices.

Vivid belief in Future Life

Let us glance for a moment at the other side of the picture. Valerius Maximus, a writer of the first century A.D., records for us that the Gauls had so vivid a belief in the future life that they would lend to one another money to be repaid in the next world. 'I would call these breeches-wearers fools—only they have perceived what the toga-clad Pythagoras perceived.'

Caesar tells us of the solemn assemblies of the druids in a holy place in the territory of the Carnutes where, under the reverend presidency of the archdruid, sacrifices were performed, judicial cases tried and laws promulgated. Diogenes Laertius tells us that the druids taught the youths under their instruction 'to worship the gods, to exercise valor, and to do no evil'—wholly admirable precepts.

The famous Coligny Calendar

The remarkable calendar of which a number of fragments were found at Coligny, in the French department of Ain, toward the end of the last century, is a proof of the elaboration of the religion of the Celtic peoples so far as the recurrence of festivals, times and seasons, and lucky and unlucky days are concerned. Briefly, the fragments belong to a rectangular plate of bronze, closely engraved with a calendar for five years, divided each into twelve lunar months, with two intercalary months devised to establish a correspondence between the solar and the lunar year. Each month had twenty-nine or thirty days; the long and short months alternated with almost uniform regularity; and with one exception all the long months are marked 'lucky' and the short months 'unlucky.'

Each month is divided into two parts, the first always containing fifteen days, the latter fifteen or fourteen, as the case may be. The latter half is described by the word Atenoux, which seems to mean 'the after-night.' There is reason to believe that the first half of the month was the light half, and extended, not as we might expect from new moon to full moon, but from first quarter to last quarter; the Atenoux being the dark half of the month, extending from last quarter, through new moon to first quarter.

Interchange of lucky days

There is a singularly complicated system of interchange of days between months, which seems to have been designed in order that a lucky day might be borrowed from a lucky month, to be inserted into an unlucky month, for the purpose of securing an auspicious performance of whatever was the appropriate rite of the day. The calendar is, in short, a testimony to an extraordinary subtlety and ingenuity, to no small mathematical and astronomical skill, and to a very high elaboration of religious ritual among the Celtic peoples of the first century B.C.—the probable date of the document.

It is the tragedy of the Celtic peoples that they have never had a chance to build up an enlightened civilization of their own. Rome and the Teutons between them have crushed them to the dust whenever they seemed to be gaining a footing on which to develop the contributions which they might have made to the culture of the world.

STAPLE ARTICLES OF COMMERCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN OF ANTIQUITY

A widespread Mediterranean trade was no new thing in the Hellenic age; Egypt, Crete, Phoenicia, had exported their wares far afield, as excavation testifies. But the Greek war on Tyrrhenian and Carthaginian freebooters, and especially the organized suppression of piracy by such maritime states as Athens, gave it an immense impetus. This map indicates, besides the principal trading cities, the staple commodities in the various regions; in the inset are shown the areas of the Achaean and Olynthian leagues.

ANCIENT COMMERCE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

HOW THE PIONEERS OF TRADE MADE A COMMERCIAL UNIT OF THE MIDDLE SEA FROM TARTESSUS TO THE EUXINE

G. H. STEVENSON

Fellow and Prelector of Ancient History, University College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Ancient History

THE Greeks were interested in geography, as in all other sciences. Their earliest philosophers indulged in cosmological speculations, and Herodotus adopts so polemical a tone when he discusses geography as to make it clear that problems concerning the shape of the earth and the distribution of the continents had excited considerable controversy before the middle of the fifth century B.C. Enough is known about the views of his predecessors, however, to justify us in considering Herodotus as the father of scientific geography, as well as of history and of anthropology.

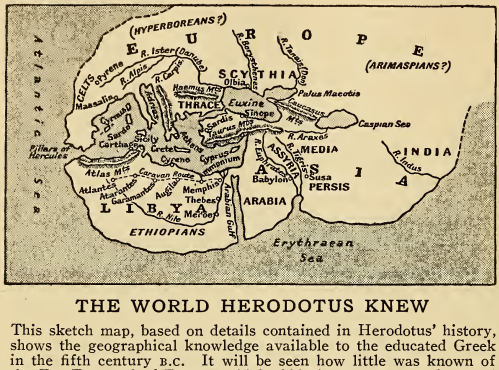
No Greek of the fifth century had a wider horizon than he. A native of one of the smaller Greek states, he had travelled widely, and felt at home wherever the Greek language was spoken or understood. Fortunately, he was a practical man and not a philosopher. He knew that geographical facts are discovered by observation and exploration; he realized that there was still much to learn, and that it was presumptuous to draw a symmetrical picture of a world still unexplored; and, though he was undoubtedly credulous, he was an honest man who never consciously attempted to deceive his readers. It is, therefore, well worth while to consider how much he knew about the world.

The world of Herodotus is essentially a Mediterranean world. He did not, indeed, know of the great mountain chains which cut off central and northern Europe from southern lands (to him "Alpis" and "Capris" are tributaries of the Danube, and "Pyrene" a city), but he viewed all that lies north of the Mediterranean seaboard as very nearly a *terra incognita*—an unknown land penetrated occasionally by enterprising traders from the Black Sea or the northern Adriatic or Marseilles, and producing such valuable commodities as gold, tin and amber.

Europe is to him the greatest of the three continents; its western limit is "the land of the Celts and the city of Pyrene," while its eastern and northern boundaries are known to none. Of the shape of Asia and Africa he has fairly definite ideas, but it is only of the southern fringe of Europe that he professes to have exact knowledge. Strange tales of the peoples of northern Europe had reached him, tales of one-eyed Arimaspians and of gold-guarding griffins, he had heard of "Tin Islands" in the Northern Ocean, and of a great river, the Eridanus, from which amber reached the Mediterranean. But these stories were regarded by Herodotus with an almost scientific scepticism.

His predecessors had believed that the world was surrounded by an ocean, and Herodotus admits that the voyages of explorers had established the existence of sea to the south of Asia and Africa, from the Indus to the Strait of Gibraltar. But he could produce no similar evidence for sea to the north of Europe and thus the Eridanus and the Tin Islands do not appear on his map of the world. As it happens, his conclusion was wrong, but he deserves more praise than he has sometimes received for his appreciation of what constitutes evidence.

Long before the time of Herodotus Greeks had settled in Cyrene, and become well acquainted with the north coast of Africa. Thus Herodotus' account not only of the coastline but of the caravan route from east to west, from oasis to oasis, has been found surpris-



THE WORLD HERODOTUS KNEW

This sketch map, based on details contained in Herodotus' history, shows the geographical knowledge available to the educated Greek in the fifth century B.C. It will be seen how little was known of the Far East and of Europe—Alpis (Alps) appears as a river and Pyrene (Pyrenees) as a city—but information about the oases and caravan routes of the Sahara was remarkably accurate.

ingly accurate by modern travellers. But of the interior of the continent he knows as little as he knows of central Europe.

That Africa was surrounded by sea had been established by the voyage of Phoenicians in the days of Necho, king of Egypt. They sailed round the continent from east to west, "having the sun on their right hand," and after three years entered the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules.

For Herodotus, as for us, Asia begins at the Bosporus and stretches from there to the east. But its eastern limit was the valley of the Indus, and to the north all that lay beyond the Caucasus was included by him in Europe, which in length "stretched along" both the others (*see* sketch map above). To the Greeks of the fifth century the coastline of Asia Minor was, of course, familiar; and the settlers on the west coast had penetrated fairly far up-country along the valleys of the rivers at whose mouths their cities lay.

Since the rise of the Persian Empire the whole of the Near East had been ruled from Susa. A good road, described by Herodotus in detail, connected western Asia Minor with Mesopotamia, and when Aristagoras of Miletus, at the beginning of the fifth century, arrived in Greece to invite Athens and Sparta to join in a great campaign against the power of Persia, he brought with him a map depicting the country through which this road ran. It made the distance from Sardis to Susa appear surprisingly small to those who did not, like the king of Sparta, ask awkward questions about the scale.

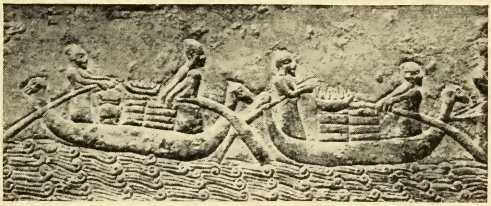
Herodotus' knowledge of Mesopotamia is inadequate, but he was well aware of the lines of communication which connected it with Europe through the passes of the Taurus, and with Egypt through Syria and Palestine. He knew of the desert which prevented direct communication between Mesopotamia and Egypt, and which cuts off the eastern coastline of the Mediterranean from the interior.

Of India and Arabia, and the most distant parts of Asia, Herodotus' knowledge is as vague as is his knowledge of the interior of Europe; it is quite clear that Greek traders had not yet penetrated either to the Indus or the Baltic. But somehow the produce of these regions had reached the known world. "The ends of the earth," says Herodotus, "produce the most precious things"; as amber and tin come from the north, gold and perfumes come from the east. Such knowledge as Herodotus possessed must have been derived by him from Persian sources.

It was a very homogeneous world with which Herodotus was familiar, a world which faced a single sea and turned its back on its continental neighbors, from whom in most parts it is separated by definite natural barriers. The north coast of Africa, as has so often been said, belongs geographically to Europe. Behind the coastline of Spain lies a high and rugged plateau, which it took the Romans centuries to subdue; and the whole peninsula is isolated by the mountain wall of the Pyrenees. Italy is cut off from central Europe by the barrier of the Alps. From Trieste to Constantinople the more or less civilized coastline has throughout history possessed a hin-

terland into which culture has not easily penetrated. The history of Asia Minor has always been determined by the contrast in geographical character between the coastline and the plateau of the interior. Finally, as has been noted, the coast of Syria and Palestine is merely a narrow strip lying between the sea and the sandhills of the desert.

The course of ancient history was determined by these familiar geographical facts. All the states which touched the Mediterranean coastline were driven to take to the sea, if they aimed at political or commercial influence. Modern discoveries have strikingly confirmed Greek traditions of the sea power of Crete in the second millennium B.C., and have proved that at that early date commodities and perhaps settlers moved freely from one part of the Mediterranean over to another. Later, the boldest seafarers came from the Greek cities and the Phoenician communities of Tyre and Carthage.



TYRIAN SHIPS OF 9th CENTURY B.C.

Herodotus has a story of wreckage being identified as coming from a Phoenician ship by the horse's head carved on the broken prow. That such a feature was characteristic of Phoenician vessels is shown by this picture of ships from Tyre on the gates of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.) at Balawat.

British Museum

We have said that the Mediterranean world was homogeneous. It was politics far more than geography that restricted freedom of intercourse. Until the whole Mediterranean basin passed under the rule of Rome at the beginning of the Christian era parts of the coastline were usually dominated by states which resented the presence of foreigners as settlers and even sometimes as traders.

But the great days of Rome lie outside the period with which we are specially concerned. When this period begins the eastern Mediterranean was dominated by the Persian Empire, into whose hands fell both the Phoenician cities, with their still powerful fleets, and the ancient kingdom of Egypt. In time of peace the Persians do not seem to have imposed restrictions on trade with other parts of the Mediterranean; but Greeks did not feel happy under Persian rule, and certainly during the first two centuries of our period there is no trace of any large settlements of Greeks in Persian territory comparable to the movement of population which followed Alexander's conquest.

If the expansion of the Greeks in the East was hampered by the Persian Empire, in the West a more active obstacle was presented by the powerful commercial states of Carthage and Etruria, which regarded the Greeks as dangerous rivals.

Thus it was only in the central part of the Mediterranean that Greek influences predominated. Though the Greeks had a considerable power of assimilating non-Greek peoples, as was shown in North Africa and round the Black Sea, they could not combine with Phoenicians; in Cyprus, as in Sicily, their Mediterranean neighbors were always regarded as foreigners.

It lies outside the scope of this chapter to discuss in detail the causes which led to the spread of Greek settlements over so large a part of the Mediterranean coast. The process was practically complete by 550, and during the two centuries which followed there was little extension of the area subject to Greek influences. Though the best authorities agree that in the first instance Greek colonization had generally been due to land hunger on the part of overcrowded and misgoverned inhabitants of agricultural states, the final result of this shifting of population was a vast extension of commercial activity. The Greeks showed great discrimination in their choice of sites; they were to be found at

the end of great trade routes, at the mouths of the rivers of South Russia and of Asia Minor; they occupied the rich lands of Sicily, Campania and southern Italy; and they were attracted by the metals of Cyprus and Spain.

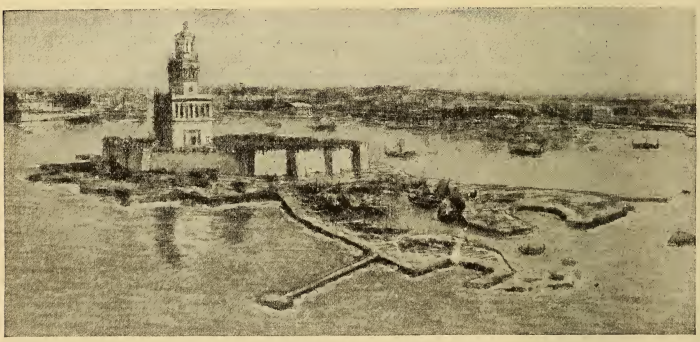
The presence of Greeks in the western Mediterranean as, for example, in Corsica, was unwelcome to the commercial Carthaginians, and the Phocaean settlers were expelled from the island. This desire on the part of Carthage to prevent the extension of the Greek sphere of influence in the west is illustrated by the unfortunate experiences of Dorieus, a Spartan prince, who at the end of the sixth century B.C. indulged in projects of colonization. He was singularly ill advised in his choice of a site. His first attempt was made in a fertile district of Tripoli, but it was thwarted by native and Carthaginian opposition. On the north coast of Africa the Greeks had long been established in Cyrene, which the Carthaginians tolerated, as they tolerated Massalia. But Greek settlements farther to the west were not to be endured. An attempt made later by Dorieus, this time with the sanction of the oracle at Delphi, to secure a site in the west of Sicily was equally unsuccessful; until she was expelled by Rome, Carthage insisted on keeping in her own hands the part of the island which lay nearest to her.

But if, at this time, it was difficult for Greeks to find sites for new settlements, it was very easy for them to move about within their own section of the Mediterranean area. When the attempt made by the Asiatic Greeks to escape from Persian rule had collapsed with disaster, Samians and Milesians sailed to Sicily and established themselves on the Strait of Messina. Later in the fifth century Pericles founded a colony at Thurii, in South Italy, in the hope of spreading Athenian influence in the West. And at all times many individual Greeks went abroad to seek their fortune.

Hellenic Expansion

In the most famous period of Greek history the age of colonization on a large scale was over. The development of trade and industry had, to a great extent, solved the problem of overpopulation, which in the earlier agricultural societies had been the chief incentive to emigration.

But the influence of the Greeks was not destined to be confined permanently within the limits set by Persia and Car-



IMAGINATIVE VIEW OF THE ISLAND AND LIGHTHOUSE OF PHAROS

Of the Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. few remains exist, but surveys have rendered possible this approximately accurate reconstruction of the harbors of what was long the greatest seaport in the world. It was built on the sandy spit of land between lake Mariut on the south and the Mediterranean, with the Island of Pharos in front of it. The harbor was bisected by an embankment 1,400 yards long, the Heptastadium, which joined the city to the island.

Reconstruction drawing by A. Forestier from M. Gaston Jondet

thage, as in the sixth century. The success of Alexander the Great shifted the center of gravity in the Greek world. As the historian Beloch has pointed out, a circle drawn from the Piraeus with a radius of one thousand kilometers (620 miles) would have included practically all the Greek colonies which existed in the middle of the fourth century B.C.—from Sicily and Naples in the west to Cyprus and Naukratis in the east. Only a very few districts in which Greek influence was strong lay outside the circle—in the west Massalia, and in the north the Crimea. But after Alexander all this was changed.

In the Hellenistic age Athens and Corinth were completely eclipsed by the new foundations of Alexandria and Antioch. The Greeks of the mother country even at this period did not achieve political unity, and their country was the scene of wars and revolutions until it came under the domination of Rome. But in the East the third century B.C. was a period of comparative peace and prosperity. By the end of our period Alexandria was the largest city in the world, three times as large as Athens and twice as large as Syracuse at the periods of their greatest prosperity. Antioch, through which the riches of the East reached the Mediterranean, was second in importance only to Alexandria. Asia Minor and Syria were full of cities whose constitutions were modelled on Greek lines and whose population contained a large Greek element.

Only the most primitive societies are entirely self-supporting. As soon as material civilization reaches a very modest level the inhabitants even of favored lands feel the need of articles which they themselves cannot produce, and thus trade begins. The countries which faced each other round the Mediterranean seemed intended by Nature to provide for each other's needs. As we have seen, certain precious materials, amber, gold, tin and spices, reached the Mediterranean from the distant north and east in the time of Herodotus, but in the main the known world formed a self-contained economic unit.

The valley of the Nile, the great plains of South Russia and part of the coast of North Africa were capable of producing far more corn than was needed by the inhabitants, who were glad to exchange it for the wine or oil or manufactures of other regions. The forests of Thrace provided an inexhaustible supply of timber. The great mineral wealth of Spain was famous in very early times, and the history of Cyprus was determined by its copper mines.

ALEXANDRIAN COIN

Minted in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) at Alexandria, this copper coin bears the design of the famous lighthouse on the reverse.

British Museum

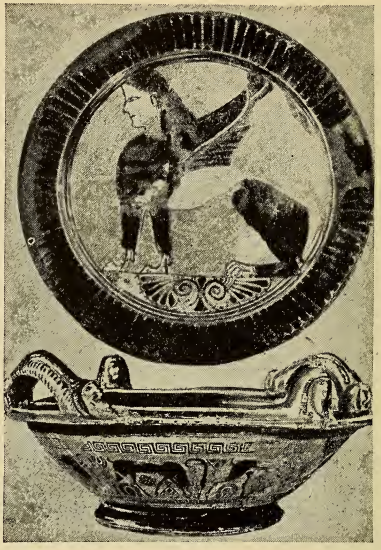
Commercial intercourse between the Mediterranean lands began as early as the third millennium B.C., and there is now abundant evidence that, at any rate in the later days of Cretan power, there were few parts of the area which were not visited by merchants. Ships form a very common motif on Cretan seals and on vases from Minoan sites. The Minoans, indeed, seem to have established a very considerable trade with countries overseas.

Discoveries have confirmed the Greek tradition of a connection between Crete and Sicily. Herodotus tells us that Minos met his death in Sicily in an attempt to rescue Daedalus, a figure who typifies the art and the industry of Crete, and that his followers settled in the heel of Italy, on a site between Brindisi and Taranto; and pottery of late Minoan date has actually been found on the very spot. There are traces of Minoan objects in Sardinia and also in Spain.

The relations between Crete and Egypt were, of course, of the closest; in 1467 Thothmes III commissioned the "Keftiu" (Cretans) to transport to Egypt wood from Lebanon in their ships of cedar. In the palace of Cnossus have been found blocks of liparite, a rare stone which must have come by sea from the islands (Lipari Islands) which give it its name. Finally, objects belonging to this period have been found in large numbers both in the islands of the Aegean and at various points on the mainland of Greece.

BETWEEN the age of Minos and historical times lies a period of which we have inadequate knowledge. But we may assume that seafaring was a familiar occupation long before the Trojan war. A voyage to Egypt was a matter of course to an enterprising captain. The story of Scylla and Charybdis is generally taken to imply a knowledge of the Strait of Messina. Abyle, "the land where silver grows," is probably Spain. The story of the Argonauts shows that the Black Sea was visited by Greeks before Milesians had colonized its coasts.

In the period with which we are more particularly concerned trade flourished in the Mediterranean lands probably even more vigorously than in the days of Minoan Crete. Navigation, it is true, was hampered by wars and pirates, but the protective tariffs which in modern times interfere with the free movement of commodities were unknown to the ancients. Moderate dues were charged at the various ports, and sometimes on ships passing through straits, but their object was simply revenue, and not defence against foreign competition.



POTTERY OF NAUKRATIS

From the sixth to the third century B.C., Naukratis, on the Nile near the modern Nebira, was the principal trading emporium of the Mediterranean. The town was also famous for the manufacture of scarabs and painted and inscribed pottery.

From A. H. Gardiner's 'Naukratis'

Ancient Tariff Policy

ANCIENT governments, of course, did not hesitate to pass regulations concerning exports and imports. For instance, Athens, on the advice of Solon, forbade the export of all natural products except olive oil, and later, in the period of her hegemony, made use of her sea power to ensure that she obtained all that she wanted of the Black Sea corn before any was allowed to reach her subjects. At a time when Argos and Aegina were on bad terms with Athens they put an embargo on the import of Attic pottery.

The commercial policy of Carthage was usually exclusive. Foreign merchants were excluded from her settlements on the coast of Spain, and by a treaty made with Rome in 348 B.C. Roman traders were forbidden to traffic with Africa or Sardinia.

But these regulations are exceptional. Even Carthage had by an earlier treaty allowed the Romans to trade freely in some of her harbors, and the severe regulations mentioned above were probably due to the beginnings of political hostility. Greek merchants could generally dispose of their goods even in countries where they would not have been allowed to settle. Thus Etruria, which joined with Carthage in turning the Greeks out of Corsica, provided an excellent market for vases and other Greek products.

The relations of Phocaea, the Greek colony on the Gulf of Smyrna, with southern Spain were extremely close. The superiority of Greek to Carthaginian industry was so marked that even the strong Carthaginian navy could not keep Greek products from the Punic sphere.

At the other end of the Mediterranean we find that Greek trade with Egypt was well established at the beginning of our period. Egypt was ruled by a dynasty which had risen to power with the help of Greek mercenaries. These mercenaries had been allowed to settle in the seventh century on one of the eastern mouths of the Nile, but in the following century King Aahmes II (Amasis) concentrated all the Greeks in his kingdom at Naukratis on the west of the Delta.

This remarkable settlement was not a colony of the ordinary Greek type, but a trading "emporium" on foreign soil, frequented by many whose home was elsewhere.

Although the great days of Naukratis were probably in the sixth century, it maintained its existence throughout the Persian period, and did not come to an end till the third century A.D. It was not only a trading but a manufacturing town, which in its early days produced scarabs and pottery in an almost purely Egyptian style.

Later, Naukratis sank into insignificance beside its great successor, Alexandria, from which the produce not only of Egypt, but of Africa and Arabia, reached the peoples of the Mediterranean.

Much was done by the Greek kings of Egypt to foster trade with the East. The Red Sea was kept free from pirates, and trading settlements were founded along its shore, from one of which, Berenice, a road ran to Coptos in Upper Egypt. In this way the perfumes and spices of Arabia were brought to Alexandria, where they were prepared for the Mediterranean markets. Ivory from Ethiopia came down the Nile. From the Egyptian papyrus paper was manufactured, and the glass and carpets of Alexandria were everywhere in big demand. Alexandria developed into a thriving industrial community, favored not only by its geographical position, but by the character of its intelligent and industrious population. Probably in no other city of antiquity was industry organized on a scale so nearly approaching that of the modern world.

CARGO OF VASES

The pottery shown in the background of this vase painting is thought to indicate the cargo of the ship—one of the Mediterranean 'tramps' that popularized the famous Corinthian ware in the sixth century B.C.

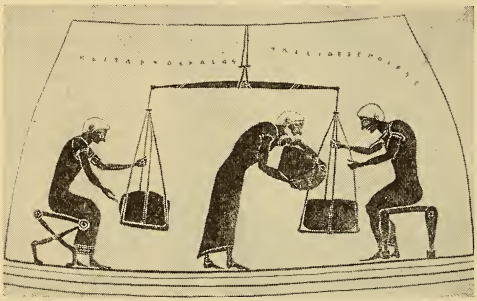
From Duruy, 'Histoire des Grecs'

But it was the agricultural wealth of Egypt, not less than the manufactures of Alexandria, which attracted traders to the country. The less fertile countries of the Mediterranean area cast greedy eyes on the cornfields of the Nile and were eager to exchange their own wine or oil or manufactures for Egyptian grain. It is, however, in the time of the Roman Empire that we hear most of Egyptian corn, and in the period with which we are particularly concerned the regions from which most corn was exported were the Black Sea and Sicily.

Miletus, the enterprising state which dominated Naukratis in its early days, was the pioneer also in the Black Sea, and founded most of the Greek cities which lined its shores. On the north coast these settlements must have presented some resemblance to Naukratis, and have possessed a rather shifting population to whom the climate and sur-

roundings were unfamiliar. As in Egypt, the Greeks were influenced by the natives, and the researches of archaeologists have revealed in South Russia a culture in which Greek and non-Greek elements are curiously blended. The great days of Miletus were nearly over by the sixth century B.C., however, and in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the state that showed most interest in the countries of the Black Sea was Athens.

Long before Athens was strong enough to aim at empire we find her fighting with Mytilene for the possession of Sigeum at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and in the sixth century the Chersonese (Gallipoli) was ruled by members of the Athenian family which produced Miltiades, the victor of Marathon.



CAREFUL BUSINESS TRANSACTION

This vase painting, emanating from the workshop of Taleides, dates probably from the early fifth century B.C. If to modern eyes the picture is quaint in its stylistic conventions, it is, nevertheless, valuable as evidence of the use of scales, weights and measures.

From Tillyard, 'The Hope Vases'

It is clear, indeed, that Athenian imperialism can in the long run be attributed to the need of imported food. As we saw, Solon at the beginning of the sixth century forbade the export of Athenian corn, and thereby started Athens on her career as an industrial state which paid for food with manufactures. As it was to the Black Sea that Athens looked for corn, the "freedom of the Straits" was always to her a matter of life and death. She could not allow Byzantium, the famous Megarian colony, now Istanbul, to fall into the hands of her enemies. It is significant that she was finally brought to her knees at the end of the Peloponnesian War by a victory gained in the Dardanelles. The enemies of Athens realized that by blocking the Straits they could starve her out and secure her submission.

There is abundant evidence in the inscriptions and in the writings of the orators that in the fourth century B.C. the political and commercial relations between Athens and the "kingdom of the Bosporus" in South Russia were of the closest. The kings favored Athenian traders above those of other states, granting them exemption from export duty, and in reward were voted crowns of honor by the Athenian people. These traders exported from the north not merely grain but also hides, salt fish, cattle and slaves, and in return sold oil, wine, vases and other products of Athenian industry.

If Athens looked to the Black Sea for her corn, and made use of her naval power to ration other Greek states, it seems probable that many of these states looked to Magna Graecia to satisfy their need of imported food. During a considerable period of antiquity Sicily was a great producer of grain, and the Roman Republic made full use of her political power to obtain from Sicily as much corn as she required; indeed, she seems to have controlled the export of Sicilian corn in much the same way as Athens had controlled the Pontic trade. At an earlier period a very considerable amount of this grain had found its way to Greece along with other products of the Greek West, such as for example, timber, pigs and cheese. This trade was for long dominated by Corinth and her daughter states, Corcyra and Syracuse, almost as completely as the Black Sea trade was dominated by Athens.

While Athens was content to be the

successor of Miletus in the north-east a conflict could be, and was, avoided; but from the time of Themistocles many Athenian public men favored a western policy, and dreamed not merely of commercial activity in Italy and Sicily, but of an empire in the West. The most famous advocate of this policy was Alcibiades, the inspirer of the disastrous expedition against Syracuse. In his later days Pericles had frowned on these ambitions and had considered that Athens had had enough to do in maintaining her control of the Aegean, but after his death the ultra-imperialist party got the upper hand. At first they did little more than use Athenian sea-power to prevent the importation of corn into the Peloponnese, but later in the war an ambitious scheme of annexation was adopted, and it was the failure of this plan that ultimately brought about the downfall of the Athenian Empire.

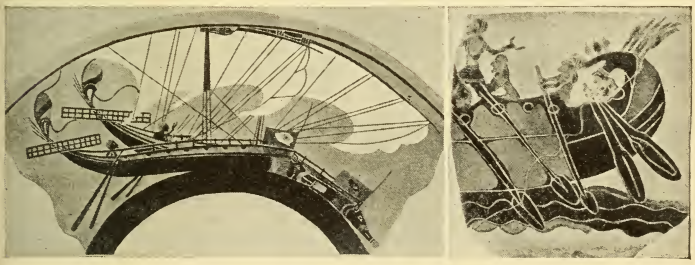
CORINTH AND A COLONY

In this charming piece of metal work, a mirror found at Corinth, the male figure symbolizes the great trading and manufacturing center itself; the female, Leucas, a Corinthian daughter city.

From Duruy, 'Histoire des Grecs'

There is much truth in the view that the foreign policy of Athens, and of many other ancient states, was largely determined by economic conditions—the need of certain imports, and the desire of the leaders of industry to find new markets.

Enough has been said about the restrictions which were imposed on freedom of trade by the commercial policy of Mediterranean states. It remains to say something of another hindrance to navigation from which the Mediterranean was never free until the time of Augustus. In his famous account of early Greece Thucydides explains that fear of



MARITIME ACTIVITY OF THE SIXTH-CENTURY ATHENIAN

To the Athenians especially was due the expansion of oversea commerce in the fifth century B.C. The sea was 'in their blood,' and all things maritime made strong appeal to them. Here (left) is a vigorous vase painting of the preceding century showing two ships racing—warships as proved by the rowlocks and formidable rams. Equal animation distinguishes the clay relief beside it.

From August Koster, 'Das Antike Seewesen'

pirates was the reason why the most ancient Greek states were built some distance from the sea.

To Thucydides the existence of strong sea-powers capable of dealing with this plague is an essential factor in the development of civilization. In the early days of Greece there was no trade, no free intercourse by land or sea, and so men produced no more than the bare necessities of life; no great cities were built, no wealth was accumulated; life was insecure, and destruction and robbery were always to be feared.

GREEK SAILORS GOING ASHORE

The so-called Ficoroni casket found at Praeneste is engraved with pictures of the arrival of the Argonauts in Bithynia and gives illuminating details of Greek warship construction. Note the boarding ladder and the upper deck, which gave protection to the rowers in action and served as a lounge in idle hours.

Kircheriano Museum, Rome

Importance of Sea-power

No state could be prosperous or wealthy in these conditions. The greatness of Crete in prehistoric days was due to sea-power. Minos, the first "thalassocrat" (one who rules by virtue of sea-power), "put down piracy, as was reasonable, to the best of his power, in order that his revenues might be increased."

His example was followed by the naval powers of historical Greece—Corinth, the Ionian cities and, finally, Athens—who found that without ships of war capable of keeping the seas open for their merchants trade was impossible. Fleets came into existence not for any offensive purpose, but for defence against piracy. Thucydides shows that the civilized states of Greece are those which have been able to successfully defend themselves against raiders.

This section of the Preface of Thucydides may be regarded as a veiled apologia for the Athenian Empire, which was in his time regarded by many as an unjustifiable infringement of Greek liberty.

Under the protection of the Athenian navy communication by sea was possible for Greek merchants, at any rate in the Aegean area, to a far greater extent than before the rise or after the fall of the Athenian Empire; and it is not surprising that the warmest supporters of Athenian imperialism were found among the democratic trading population in Athens itself and in the allied cities. The pro-Spartan "oligarchs" were usually agrarians, little interested in trade. An anonymous writer, contemporary with the Peloponnesian War, says that Athenian sea-power enabled her not only to obtain good things from all over the world but to acquire a culture to which Greek and barbarian influences alike contributed. The disappearance of "provincialism" which this writer notes as an effect of Athenian rule must have been found to a lesser extent in other cities of Greece; short as was the duration of the Athenian Empire, it produced a homogeneity in Greek culture which persisted long after the destruction of the Athenian fleet and power at the battle of Aegospotami, and left its mark on the new Greek states which Alexander's conquests created in the East. Athens anticipated on a small scale the work so efficiently performed by Rome; she broke down barriers which had long separated states from each other by facilitating the movement not only of commodities but of ideas.

Two examples from the early years of the fifth century show the kind of experience which was apt to befall Greek traders at a time when the sea was inadequately policed. When a discredited leader of the anti-Persian movement in Asia Minor was unable to arrange his own return to Miletus, he persuaded the Lesbians to give him eight triremes, with which he sailed to Byzantium, and there "captured all ships sailing out of the Pontus except those which were willing to take orders from him." The other story may be given in the words of Herodotus:

> When Dionysius of Phocaea knew that the fate of Ionia was sealed, he took three captured ships and did not return to Phocaea, knowing that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia, but sailed straight off to Phoenicia, sunk there some merchant vessels and took from them much money; then he departed for Sicily, where he established himself as a pirate, plundering no Greek vessels, but only Carthaginians and Etruscans.

The unwillingness of merchants at this period of antiquity to venture across the open sea exposed them to the attentions of the pirates, who knew well that the deeply indented coast of southern Asia Minor provided them with hiding places close to which merchant ships were sure to pass.

Early in the Peloponnesian War the Athenians sent a squadron to this district to prevent "Peloponnesian pirates" from preying on merchant vessels coming to the Aegean from the East. It is probable that these "pirates" ought rather to be described as privateers; that their vessels were privately owned; and that they had obtained some sort of sanction for their activities from the authorities at Sparta.

During the Peloponnesian War not only Athenians but neutrals who were captured in merchant ships were indiscriminately put to death by their captors, who, we may suppose, did not always sail in regular ships of war. The encouragement of this policy by their opponents so infuriated the Athenians that as a form of reprisal they put to death in cold blood certain Spartan and Corinthian ambassadors, although Greek religious feeling normally regarded the persons of ambassadors as inviolate. Even before the collapse of the sea-power of Athens, the Peloponnesian War must have enabled pirates to raise their heads again; they could easily claim to have the sanction of one of the belligerents, and the distinction between privateering and piracy has never been an easy one to draw.

The revival of the sea-power of Athens in the fourth century was closely connected with her desire to secure free communication. When Philip of Macedon offered his co-operation in the suppression of piracy Athens regarded the offer almost as an insult, but we have abundant evidence that at this date she did not display the same efficiency as in the time of Pericles, and that the activities of some of her own professional admirals, like Timotheus, were often unworthy of her professions.

Had Alexander lived longer, he would no doubt have taken steps to suppress piracy in the eastern Mediterranean, if only in the interests of the trade of Alexandria. But a period of chaos followed his death, and none of the succession states proved capable of dealing with the evil. Something was no doubt done by Egypt during her period of ascendancy in the Aegean, but we hear more of the little state of Rhodes, which in the century after Alexander possessed a regular *thalassocracy*. But Rhodes was not strong enough to carry on the work of Athens.

In the west Carthage had no doubt

STANDARD FATHOM AND FOOT

Standard measures are as important for trade as standard weights and currency. On this relief, commemorating the reduction of Samos by Athens in 439 B.C., the official fathom is given by the man's outstretched arms, and the foot by a footprint. The application of art to such practical ends is typical.

National Museum, Athens

suppressed piracy in the regions which she controlled. But in the fourth century B.C. Etruria seems to have developed into a regular piratical state, and the name Tyrrhenian becomes almost identical with "pirate." It has been doubted whether the Tyrrhenians who gave trouble in the Aegean were really Etruscans, but it was the latter with whom Dionysius of Syracuse dealt in the Adriatic; it was they who threatened a colony sent by Athens to this region in 325; and it was they who forced on Rome the creation of "maritime colonies."

ATTIC TETRADRACHMS

The monetary unit of Greece was the drachma, multiplied by 2, 4, etc: The Attic tetradrachm current throughout Greece c. 500-430 B.C. bore the head of Athena on the obverse and the owl and the abbreviated name of the city on the reverse.

British Museum

Long before the first Punic War made Rome a great sea-power she had regarded it as her duty to suppress marauders. The steps which she took to deal with the piratical rulers in Illyria show that she did not shrink from an attempt to dominate the Adriatic. The force of circumstances compelled a nation of farmers to become a sea-power, which was destined ultimately to secure for traders in the Mediterranean a freedom of movement which they had never known before.

It is impossible to discuss the international trade of the ancient world without saying something about the machinery whereby it was financed. In the period with which we are concerned ancient commerce had advanced beyond the stage of barter, and was almost everywhere conducted on a money basis.

An abundant supply of a good metallic currency was, indeed, more essential to an ancient trader than to his successor in modern times, who has at his disposal not merely bank-notes but the great inventions of the cheque and the bill of exchange, of which, as we shall see, the ancients had only the most rudimentary ideas.

Coinage was probably not a Greek invention, but in this matter the Greeks showed their usual power of assimilating the ideas of others. By the beginning of our period all the progressive Greek cities were accustomed to the use of money and possessed mints of their own, producing coins on a standard which was either identical with or stood in some definite relation to that employed in the states with which they had commercial dealings. Much may obviously be learned about the course of ancient trade by a study of the coinage systems which prevailed in the various communities.

The Greeks derived one great advantage from the fact that their commercial transactions were conducted on a metallic basis, and that they were almost entirely ignorant of paper money. The value of their currencies remained stable over long periods, and the money of one state was readily accepted by traders of another at a rate of exchange which could be determined by the scales. Although it was not till the Roman conquest that the Mediterranean world achieved monetary unity, trade was little hampered by the absence of a uniform system.

At the same time, it was of distinct advantage to ancient traders that the systems of coinage employed by the various commercial states should be as few as possible, and all governments were aware of the fact. Commercial dealings between communities were facilitated by the adoption of the same standard. As early as the time of Solon we find Athens deciding to abandon the "Aeginetan" system and to adopt as the basis of her coinage a standard which would encourage trade with the important cities of Chalcis and Corinth. It has, again, been established that during her period of supremacy in the Aegean she made a not unsuccessful effort to impose the use of her coinage on the states which she controlled. At the end of the Peloponnesian War in all probability the only silver coins which were legal tender at Athens were those on which was represented the familiar owl of Athena.

It is doubtful whether this action on the part of Athens caused much resentment. Athenian currency was popular because of its purity, and had a large circulation even in countries such as South Italy and Sicily, over which Athens had no political authority. The money of certain other states, such as Corinth and Cyzicus, and later Rhodes, had an international circulation, but none was so popular as that of Athens, even after her period of political greatness. Alexander struck silver coins on the Attic standard, adopted by most of the states into which his empire fell.

The kings of Persia made use of their political power to secure monetary uniformity, and monopolized the issue of the gold "Darics" which formed the most important gold currency in the Mediterranean world during the early part of our period, before they were superseded by the gold coins of Philip and Alexander. And just as great states such as Persia, Macedon and Athens aimed at abolishing the chaos which was produced by a multitude of mints, so the smaller states which from time to time gained influence used their power for the same purpose. Thus Thebes for a considerable period managed to suppress the coinage of the other cities of Boeotia, in order that her own money might circulate throughout the country. Federal states, like the Olynthian and Achaean Leagues, had a federal coinage.

Despite, however, the fact that the common sense of ancient governments and traders did much to encourage commerce by reducing as far as possible the number of currencies in circulation at any one time, there was always need for the money-changers, whose tables were a familiar feature of all commercial centres. Payments were usually made in cash, and trade would have been impossible had not a supply of the currency required been easily obtainable. Again ancient coins, owing to the method by which they were produced, were not so uniform as those of modern times, and sometimes scales were needed to determine whether a coin was of full weight.

It came to be the practice to entrust money for safe keeping to the money changers, who always had in their possession a large quantity of coin of various denominations for whose security they were bound to provide. Though even in fourth-century Athens it was customary to store what Englishmen would consider very large sums in private houses, the experiences of the victims of the Thirty Tyrants, in the period of confusion immediately after the fall of Athens, must have made obvious the desirability of some means of keeping savings out of the reach of depredators.

Again, many merchants whose headquarters were at Athens, but who were constantly abroad, found it convenient to deposit a sum of money with a banker not only for security but to facilitate the payment to creditors of any sums which might become due to them in the absence of the debtor. In course of time this side of a banker's activities assumed an increasing importance, and it was almost forgotten that he had originally acted as a changer of money.

In early times it was common to deposit surplus money with temple treasurers. The temples were regarded as asylums where both persons and property were under divine protection. As it was an act of sacrilege to seize a suppliant, so robbery of a temple was strongly condemned by Greek religious feeling. It was, therefore, the custom for states, and notably the Athenian state, to deposit their savings in the temple of their patron deity, where it was treated as "sacred money" which could only be withdrawn under strict conditions, including the payment of interest by the government concerned.

There is no reason to think that in the fifth century B.C. the money stored in the Acropolis was invested or loaned by the temple authorities; so far was the temple from paying interest on deposits that the state paid the temple for the privilege of making use of it. But from the fourth century onwards it became quite a common practice for temples to lend money at interest, and in the latter part of our period we find Apollo of Delos providing large sums to needy communities at what was rather below the market rate of interest. The more important temples enjoyed very considerable revenues, and it is not surprising that they learned to invest their surplus income in loans and mortgages instead of keeping it shut up in a box.

In fourth-century Athens a man who

wished to keep his spare money in safety would not have thought of depositing it in a temple. That part which he did not invest in mortgages or in commercial loans he deposited with a banker like Pasion, whose clientele included very many merchants who were not Athenian citizens. A good example of everyday procedure at Pasion's bank is given by Demosthenes.

A certain Lycon of Heraclea, who was about to undertake a trading journey to North Africa, was introduced to Pasion by two Athenian citizens and opened an account with him, as we should say, into which he paid a considerable sum, giving instructions that it was to be handed over on demand to Cephisiades of Scyros, a business partner of his own, who at the time was away on some trading venture. Demosthenes continues:

The practice of bankers where money is deposited by an individual with instructions to pay it to another is as follows: first they enter in their books the name of the depositor and the amount of the money, then they write in the margin "to be paid to so and so"; if they know the appearance of the latter, this is all they do, otherwise they also enter the name of the man who is to introduce the recipient of the money.

In the case before us neither of the persons concerned was a regular customer of the bank, and the money was merely deposited with Pasion for a few months for safe keeping. The procedure described is almost identical with that which would be adopted now, when a banker requires a reference for a new customer and hesitates to cash a check across the counter for a complete stranger.

The existence of banks like this must have been a great convenience for effecting payments between people who kept current accounts; a payment from one of Pasion's customers to another would have been merely a question of bookkeeping, and it is possible that the Athenian bankers devised some sort of clearing-house to enable transfers of money between reputable customers to be made without unnecessary use of coin. A wealthy Athenian normally kept a certain amount of money on current account. On the death of Demosthenes' father it was found that he had 2,400 drachmae at the bank of Pasion and 600 at that of Pylades. It may be added that the modern practice of depositing valuables other than money at the bank was familiar to the Greeks.

In the period which we are considering a bank was usually owned by one man, and, though there are cases of partnership, anything like the modern joint-stock bank was unknown. Moreover, although it is often stated that Greeks were acquainted with the use of the check, a study of the evidence shows this to be very doubtful. Of course, it was quite usual to give instructions to a banker to pay a sum of money to a person on proof of identity, but it is difficult to find anything nearer a check than a token or sealed letter to the banker given by the debtor to the creditor.

In a discussion of ancient commerce it is necessary to ask how much was done by bankers to assist international trade otherwise than by changing money and by keeping in safety sums deposited with them by traders. We have seen above that navigation was often dangerous because of storms and pirates, and that there was every inducement to reduce as far as possible the amount of valuables carried on a journey. In the age of Cicero the letter of credit was well known and some centuries earlier the idea was familiar.

Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) tells us how the son of a wealthy noble of South Russia was anxious to have a remittance of money sent from home to Athens. "Knowing that Stratocles was about to sail to the Pontus, I asked him to leave some of his own money here in Athens and recoup himself from my father in the Pontus, thinking that it would be a great advantage if my money were not exposed to the danger of a sea voyage, especially as the Spartans had then command of the sea." When Stratocles asked him what would happen if the father refused to pay, Pasion agreed to make himself responsible for both principal and interest. Stratocles may be described as taking with him either a check drawn by the Bosporan noble's son, or a letter of credit from Pasion; but the way in which the story is told shows that the procedure was unusual.

Great as were the services rendered

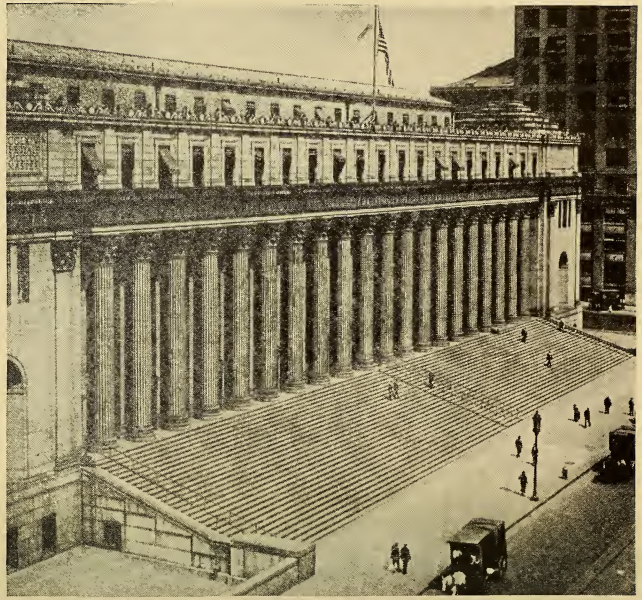
by bankers to individual traders it is a mistake to employ modern terms too freely in speaking of their activities. A man like Pasion, who had dealings with many foreigners and was well informed about their financial position, was able to give advice to Athenians engaged in foreign trade. But it would be wrong to imply that, except in a very rudimentary form, he performed the work of the accepting houses who now facilitate foreign trade by guaranteeing the payment of bills drawn on foreign customers. It is, indeed, generally agreed that the bill of exchange was unknown in antiquity.

Again, there is little evidence that ancient bankers helped trade by lending money to merchants. Much trade was, indeed, done with borrowed money, and loans to those about to undertake a trading voyage were a favorite investment for capitalists. In these loans we may see the beginnings of insurance, as the sum borrowed was not repaid unless the ship reached its destination in safety. Such loans, which produced a high rate of interest, were regarded as very risky.

On Pasion's death it was found that some of the funds deposited with him were invested in mortgages on land and houses in Attica. This form of investment was only open to bankers who were Athenian citizens, and we must suppose that funds entrusted to those who were only "resident aliens" were lent on the security of other forms of property to men who could be trusted.

Enough has been said to show the general conditions under which commerce was conducted in the centuries with which we are more directly concerned. We have seen that the geographical character of the Mediterranean area is such as to encourage the interchange of products, and that within it all necessities of life could be found. In spite of the jealous exclusiveness of certain governments there was always a market for goods whose quality was recognized to be high. At the same time, even after Alexander's conquests, when the size of ships was greatly increased, navigation was limited to part of the year, and sailors were much more at the mercy of winds and currents than they are now.

Commercial enterprises were on a small scale and great accumulations of capital were rare. Merchants could borrow money only at rates which we should think extortionate, and were at most periods exposed to danger from pirates. But none of these handicaps prevented them from establishing close relations with customers in other lands or from settling in foreign countries. When Rome brought the whole of the Mediterranean under her rule, she was merely giving political unity to a civilization which had been built up and rendered homogeneous by the enterprise of a long succession of traders.



SUCCESSFUL RECOURSE TO GREEK MOTIFS IN BUILDINGS OF MODERN LONDON AND NEW YORK

Recent times have witnessed a revival in the use of Greek models, with greater discretion, perhaps, than was once customary. Using their derivative material in very different ways, both the Port of London Authority Building on Tower Hill, London, and the new General Post Office in New York achieve a dignified and imposing effect without copying any actual Greek building.

Photos, Donald McLeish and Ewing Galloway

WHAT THE MODERN WORLD OWES TO GREECE

A REVIEW OF OUR DEBT TO HELLENIC CULTURE IN THINGS MATERIAL AND THINGS OF THE SPIRIT

By Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER, LL.D., F.R.S.

Warden of New College, Oxford; Author of The Common Weal, Studies in History and Politics, A History of Europe, etc.

Outward contrasts with Hellenism

As there was a Hellenic civilization extending far beyond the confines of ancient Greece, so there is now a European civilization influencing with varying degrees of completeness and intensity the life of Man in every quarter of the planet. This civilization has its roots in the marvellous achievements of ancient Hellas and cannot be fully understood without reference to them. The descendant, however, often differs widely from his ancestors. He may enjoy different things, think different thoughts, live in a different way. So our modern civilization, though Greek in origin, may in all its essential characteristics be far removed from the qualities which we assign to the mind, character and institutions of Greece.

Outward contrasts leap to the eye. We live in an age of scientific machinery. Our material civilization is mechanical. Thanks to steam and electricity we move about the world far more swiftly, easily and frequently than our ancestors. If we enumerate the outward features of modern society, they seem not only to be widely different from the conditions which prevailed in ancient Greece but very different from those which existed in the time of Dr. Johnson. The factory system is a novelty dating from the later part of the eighteenth century; the great city is a novelty; the nation state is a form of polity unrecognized by Aristotle. The Greeks, without books, newspapers, telephones, telegraphs or wireless, lived less on imitation and more on dialectic. The application of steam, chemistry and electricity to industry, commerce and agriculture are the fruits of modern, not of ancient ingenuity.

The British Parliament, save indeed for the important fact that it enshrines the principle of government by discussion, is an altogether different kind of institution from the Athenian Ecclesia, or Assembly of the People. Representative government is a medieval invention; the Greeks knew nothing of it. In their small civic communities it was possible for any citizen to take a direct share in the deliberative and judicial functions of the state, and he was expected to do so. All the complicated problems which arise in modern times out of the large area or our political units were foreign to the Greeks.

Another contrast is supplied by a comparison of the social structure of the Hellenic and the modern world. The Greek city state was founded on a basis of domestic slavery, not greatly differing from that which prevailed in Cape Colony before 1833. The immensely complicated problems arising out of the relation of an employing and employed class equally endowed with political rights, but the one possessing the staying power supplied by capital, and the other dependent for its subsistence upon weekly wages, did not then arise. The phenomena of wealth were so feebly evidenced that a separate science of political economy was not thought of. The science of politics was not regarded, as it is too often now inclined to be, as part of the science of wealth but as part of the philosophy of ethics. Yet it is worth observing that Aristotle propounded the true theory of currency and saw through the fallacy of the mercantilists, who for many centuries led statesmanship astray by confounding money with wealth.

Though we are always tempted to underrate the variety of the Greek genius and temperament, there is much in contemporary manifestations of art and literature

which is alien to the Greek convention. In general, Greek art was simpler, more severe, less occupied with unessentials than ours and less liable to the vice of exaggeration.

Music and melody are words bequeathed to us by the Greeks, but the development of the musical art in Europe owes less to them than to the Hebrews and less to the Hebrews than to the encouragement of music by the medieval Christian Church.

Very different is the case of architecture. Greek music has disappeared. Greek architecture remains, embodying certain definite types of beauty, which, so long as the sense of beauty remains with mankind, will continue to compel admiration. There is probably no town in Europe which does not in some part of its structure betray evidence of the influence of Greece.

In every course of architectural training the study of Greek models and the Greek tradition holds a place, so that wherever a house or a church or a town hall is built after an architect's plan, some hints from the technique of the schools of Hellas are distilled into the work. Russian architecture, indeed, has a character of its own, for the beautiful Greek monuments along the northern shores of the Black Sea were only recovered in our own age; but wherever Greek models have been available they have supplied the formal elements of an architect's training.

It follows that no history of architecture can fail to assign a large place to the Greeks. It is otherwise with painting. Not indeed that the Greeks were devoid of originality, skill or material resource in this department of the fine arts. Though we cannot, perhaps, invoke the frescoes of Cnossus, for these belong to an earlier age, there has survived on marble and

HOW THE PARTHENON COMPARES WITH THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Half the façade of the Parthenon set side by side with half the porch of the British Museum, on the same scale, shows the completeness of the debt owed by the latter to Greek architecture—its columns are taller and slenderer, because it has adopted the Ionic instead of the Doric order as its model. It must be remembered, however, that whereas the Parthenon is complete in itself, the British Museum porch is merely an architectural detail in a much greater whole.

British Museum

GREEK STYLES IN THE KIND OF SETTING FOR WHICH THEY WERE DEVISED

The worst that can be said about the use of the classic style in northern cities is that their sooty atmospheres destroy the color and texture of the stonework on which the beauty of Greek buildings so much depended. This criticism no longer applies in the clear, bright air of the Transvaal, for instance; here we see the Ionic colonnade of the Government Buildings at Pretoria.

Photo, E.N.A.

terra-cotta, on the mummy portraits of the Ptolemaic period and on the walls of Pompeii enough of Greek painting to justify the belief that Polygnotus, Zeuxis and Apelles may have deserved the praises of Pliny. In the technical appliance of their art the Greeks were probably not inferior to the Italian artists of the Renaissance, but the great schools of Western Europe owe little to the Greek painters, unless, indeed, we concede that Byzantine art was directly derived from the ancient Greeks.

The reason is obvious. The masterpieces of Greek painting had perished, and the remains which we now enjoy had not been unearthed at the Renaissance. The pictures of the great Italians do, indeed, bear the mark of Greek influence, but this is derived not from painting, but from glyptic work.

Statuary, on the contrary, is still an essentially Greek art. The Greek influence, invading Rome in the Augustan age and triumphing over the native school of sculpture, achieved a second triumph at the Renaissance. The thrill of excitement with which artists beheld the Laocoon at the beginning of the sixteenth, and the Elgin marbles at the beginning of the nineteenth century persists to this day. The greatest masterpieces of Greek sculpture have never been excelled.

It is a tribute to Hellas that we take the plastic arts for granted. If Europe had been overrun by the Mongols, the Turks or the Moors, the artistic impulse of the Latin and Teutonic world might have found no expression in painting or sculpture. It is to the Greeks, then, that we owe not only the knowledge of Man, but his idealization in art. It is they who

applied the skill of the architect, the sculptor and the painter to the exaltation of civic pride and the worship of the gods.

Classical Spirit in literature

One of the standing contrasts in literary criticism and history is that between the classical and romantic schools. The contrast implies that the ancient literature of Greece and Rome exercises a continuing influence over certain types of mind or temperament, or rather that it contains, as regards both form and substance, elements of value. There is a further implication in the term; it is that a certain identity of craftsmanship can be discerned in the two literatures of Greece and Rome. The great masters of Latin literature modelled themselves upon the Greeks and endeavored to recapture their spirit. Without Homer there would have been no Vergil, just as without Vergil there would have been no Dante. But Vergil is not a copy of Homer any more than Dante is a copy of Vergil. Still, it would be true to say that the most perfect examples of what we know as the classical spirit are to be found in the literature of ancient Greece. What are its qualities? Simplicity, grace, restraint in emotion, an unfailing instinct for beauty, concision of phrase.

In the modern world, so full of bustle, complexity and refinement, there are many forces at war with this beautiful but austere tradition. Nevertheless, it holds its own among competing forms of literary art, more easily in some languages than in others, but is manifest in all countries in which there is a sense of polite convention or of human dignity. What pastoral poetry from Lycidas to Thyrsis and The Scholar Gipsy has not been inspired by the Idylls of Theocritus? How few great poets have not, in some part at least of their work, owned the power of Greek models? Wordsworth's

> A slumber did my spirit steal,
> I had no human fears.
> She seemed a thing that could not feel
> The touch of earthly years

might be Greek, and there is much in the lyrical work of Milton, Gray, Shelley, Keats, Arnold, A. E. Housman and Bridges which is clearly inspired by Greek example; as there is, too, in Ronsard and Du Bellay, in Hérédia and in Carducci. The modern lyric, however, is apt to be more lavish in ornament and introspection.

The famous rules of dramatic art—the three unities prescribed by Aristotle—dominated the theater of Racine and Corneille and cannot anywhere be disregarded without some sacrifice. If we except Shakespeare and Racine, the great tragic rôles for women are all Greek.

Greek meters—the hexameter and elegiac, the alcaic and the sapphic—are still practiced, though seldom with convincing success; but in truth the poetical expression of classical feeling does not necessarily demand the employment of the classical meters.

The kind of artificial classical despotism which was enforced by authority in France during the eighteenth century is never likely to be revived. Yet the Greek spirit will always claim its votaries so long as the love of beauty and freedom and reticence are not extinct in the world.

Ever since the days of Erasmus the study of the Greek language and literature has played a conspicuous part in British education. Even if Greek no longer holds the privileged position in Britain which belonged to it in the Victorian age, there is no sign of any decline in the interest aroused by Greek studies. On the contrary there has been a kind of Hellenic renaissance, partly owing to a remarkable series of literary and archaeological discoveries associated with the names of Schliemann, Evans, Grenfell, Hunt, Hogarth and Myres, and partly because the interpretation of the masterpieces of Greek drama has fallen into the hands of a dynasty of scholars who have combined exact knowledge with rare poetic insight.

There is then no reason to expect that the influence of Greek thought and literature will be diminished by educational changes. Much of that influence is already preserved in the masterpieces of English poetry, so that even if the knowledge of the Greek language were to die out altogether we should still have access to the Greek spirit through Milton and Shelley and Keats, through Wordsworth and Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, apart from poetical translations, apart from the visible memorials of Greek architecture and Greek sculpture and the all-pervasive influence of Greek thought in the words of modern philosophers and men of science.

One of the intellectual characteristics

of our age is the spread of the historical spirit. 'Vere scire est per causas scire' (true knowledge is knowledge of causes) is the watchword of every serious student. A phenomenon, natural or political, is best understood through its history. We regard the world as a sequence of cause and effect, and it is a widespread belief that while history never repeats itself, the panorama of human life upon this planet reveals a spectacle of improvement. Such ideas were only fitfully present to the minds of the Greek historians. They thought that the caprices of Fortune or Chance had a large share in moulding the destinies of men, that history went round in cycles, and that since situations repeated themselves, the study of the past afforded valuable instruction to statesmen.

Yet the debt which historiography owes to the Greeks is incalculable. It is not every race which possesses the commemorative instinct. More than three hundred million people in India are without it. But the Greeks loved to recall the memory of famous men. They thought human life a vivid, interesting, exciting thing, an experience worth living and worth recording.

The idea that history should be accurate and fair, that it should be serious, disengaged from myths and trivialities, that it should deal with the life of the state, and be helpful in enabling political needs to be better understood and political work to be more intelligently undertaken—all these conceptions are present to Thucydides, and have gone to the making of our modern schools of history. Let us not accept the opinion that this rational view of historiography was inevitable. For many centuries the Greek idea was lost; and the measure of that loss will be present to the mind of anyone who compares even the best monastic chronicles of the Middle Ages with a page of Thucydides or Polybius. But with the recovery of Greek learning at the Renaissance history was recalled to the ancient models.

All our Western philosophy derives from Greece. It was they who first liberated European thought from the bondage of religious ritual and applied to the exploration of the fundamental problems of existence the free, unfettered activity of the human intellect. Thus it would be impossible to find a system of modern philosophy which has not its seeds in the Greek faculty for wonder.

It is not without significance that the word 'psychical' is Greek, for the conception of the soul as the spiritual substance of human personality was a Greek discovery. It was Socrates who first taught the Athenians that it was part of their duty to care for the soul or 'psyche,' and that the secret of moral health lay in self-examination. His discourses were full of ethical direction, prefiguring the Christian sermon of later times, save that the 'hortative discourses' of the Hellenes were free of theological sanctions and appeals. All that we mean by the science of ethics, most of what is implied in the ethical basis of European religion, finds a root in the Socratic teaching. Of all the achievements of the Greek genius this discovery has been the most important in its bearing on the conduct of man.

It will be urged that the ethics of the modern world owe more to the influence of Christianity than to any other spiritual source; and it is true that the Christian scale of virtues is different from the Greek. But then we have to ask, what does Christianity itself owe to the Greeks? Dr. Charles has shown that the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which contains an ethical passage closely resembling the Sermon on the Mount, was a pre-Christian document. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was Greek, not Jewish; so, too, was the doctrine of the Word or 'Logos,' which informs the Johannine Gospel. That there was a close connexion between early Christianity and the Greek mystery religions is now generally acknowledged. The idea of a sacred rite or sacrament by which the soul was purged of sin belongs to the Orphic tradition, to which source also may be traced the conceptions of hell, purgatory and heaven characteristic of medieval and popular Christianity.

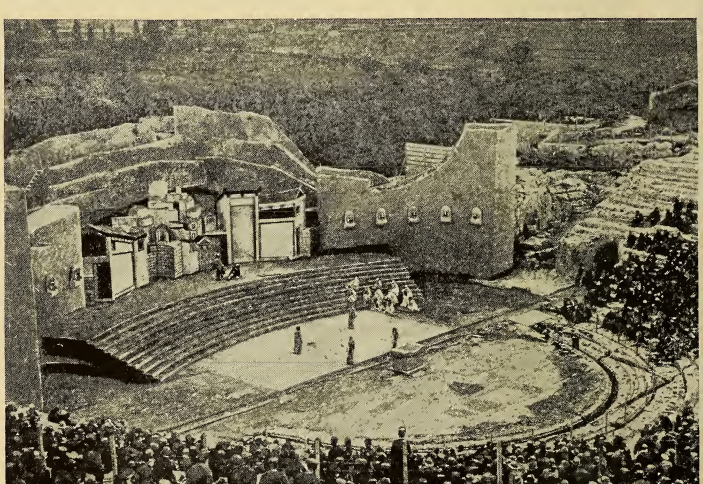
There are, however, features of modern Christianity which would have been profoundly alien to the Greek of the age of Plato and Aristotle. The Greeks were in bondage neither to a book nor to the instruments of a church. The crudities of fundamentalism would have been unintelligible to them and they had nothing to fear from sacerdotal tyranny. The Christian Science service would have

seemed to them bad art, bad religion, bad philosophy and bad science. The prodigal emotions, it is true, of a Welsh revivalist meeting, the 'chorybantic Christianity' of the Salvation Army, would not have seemed so foreign to the author of the Bacchae or to the votaries of Dionysus. 'Ecstasy' and 'enthusiasm' are Greek words illustrating ideas deeply rooted in the popular religions of Hellenism. But the higher religious consciousness of the Greeks was not a mere movement of sensibility; it was compounded alike of metaphysics, ethics and the emotion of piety. To it Protestant nonconformity would have seemed deficient in metaphysics, Greek monasticism in metaphysics and ethics alike, Roman Catholicism in intellectual freedom, and all the churches to be too deeply involved in questions of politics and organization to be free for the sublime contemplation of divine ideas. Only in some phases of Christian mysticism would the Greek discover a reflection of the soul of Plato or in the sterner forms of Calvinism an analogue to that valiant austerity of conduct which was preached by the Stoic moralists among the splendors and luxuries of Rome.

The language of the New Testament is Greek. The fact serves to remind us that the new religion found its adherents in a world speaking the language and thinking the thoughts characteristic of Greek civilization. In a thousand subtle ways Greek influence shaped and informed the new Creed.

The idea of a number of organized churches all tolerated and co-existing in the same state, would have been quite foreign to Greek experience. In the ancient Greek city, State and Church were one.

To the Jews God was a great historical figure guiding the fortunes of his chosen



MODERN HOMAGE TO THE GENIUS THAT GAVE BIRTH TO DRAMATIC ART

In nothing is the debt to Greece more obvious than the theater. The structure of the building itself, the names applying to it—theater, scene, orchestra—and all types of dramatic performance with their names—drama, comedy, tragedy, even pantomime—are derived from Greece. Modern interest in this derivation is shown by revival performances of Greek plays in the Greek manner; above is a scene from The Clouds of Aristophanes staged in the ancient Greek theater at Syracuse.

race and demanding from them the tribute of awe and devotion. To the Greek philosophers the Divine Being was capable of metaphysical proof, being conceived by Plato as self-moved motion or as the soul which was the source of cosmic order, and by Aristotle as the form which gives purpose and intelligibility to matter. The metaphysics of theism have a long history to which Descartes, Kant, Hegel, Bradley, Pringle-Pattison and others have made specific contributions; but the springs of the river descend from Hellas. It is to the thinkers of Greece that the credit belongs of rising above the low levels of popular polytheism, of drawing the contrast between the flux of material things and the realm of ideas, and of finding in the nature of thought itself the divine principle in the universe.

The Greek physicians had no knowledge of dissection, or of the circulation of the blood, or of bacteriology and antiseptic surgery. They had no microscopes or stethoscopes or X-rays. Nevertheless they left in the two great bodies of medical literature which are associated with the names of Hippocrates and Galen a mass of medical experience and doctrine which still commands the admiration of modern experts.

Whether we read the clinical records of the Hippocratic corpus or the directions for the preparation of the operating table, or the famous medical aphorisms, or the prescriptions for the treatment of fever, we feel that we are in a very modern atmosphere and that the Greek physician in the little island of Cos four or five hundred years before Christ would in nine cases out of ten have been as safe and sensible a medical adviser as many an English country practitioner to-day.

The Greeks brought the dry light of common sense into the realm of medicine, and went as far as common sense would carry them. It is on the basis of these old Greek writings that the modern science of medicine in Britain and, indeed, in all other European countries, has been erected.

What is true of medicine applies also to other branches of science. The Greeks had the genuine scientific temper. Never has there been such a concentration of first-class human intelligence upon the facts of nature as during the age which begins with Thales and ends with Aristotle. All that rationalism could achieve with the means then at its disposal was accomplished. In mathematics, where the human mind operates so to speak 'in vacuo,' the Greeks achieved miracles, and one of their text-books on geometry, written by Euclid, has held its own in our schools almost to the present day.

It would be idle to pretend that modern scientific engineers find it necessary to resort to the speculations of the Ionians or of Aristotle; but the spirit of free scientific inquiry first arose in Greece and there also were laid the foundations of those essential departments of human knowledge upon which all scientific advance is built. In this sense every modern laboratory owes an inextinguishable debt to ancient Greece.

Politics is a Greek word; so too is much of our political terminology Greek. Polity and democracy, aristocracy and oligarchy, monarchy and tyranny, Greek words all of them, remind us that the main categories of political science were Greek also.

The Greek idea of political greatness is our idea also. Most of the fundamental problems of modern politics, such as the war of classes, the representation of divergent interests, the comparative merits of different types of constitution, were problems for the Greeks also, are illustrated in Greek history and discussed by Greek philosophers. It is then no paradox to assert that the outlines of political philosophy can be more easily learned from Greek than from modern history. The conditions were simpler; the field more limited; the ultimate passions, upon which political movements depend, were capable of being isolated with greater clarity.

Nobility of Public Service

Of all the political lessons bequeathed by the Greeks to the moderns the most valuable is the idea of the nobility of public service. The Greeks took a spiritual view of the state. They regarded it as a community by participation in which the citizen was able to realize all that was best in his nature. The Greeks contributed an ethical exaltation to the idea of political life which, whenever classical influences have been specially prevalent in the world, has inspired good men to spend themselves in the service of their country.

The modern conceptions of state socialism would have seemed quite famil-

iar to the Greeks; for while they believed in political freedom, in the sense in which freedom is opposed to the caprice or force of the autocrat, they had no aversion from an all-pervasive regulation of private life in the common interest by the community.

The idea of individual sacrifice for public ends appealed to them; and the state which most attracted the admiration of Aristotle was that in which the predominance of public over private interests was most clearly marked.

The predominance of political motives affected the Greek idea of education. The young citizen should be educated for citizenship. Education was far too important a matter to be left to private-venture schools. It was the duty of the state to see that the children of its citizens were well brought up in such a way as to serve the ends of the city. In such an ideal a narrow specialism, whether religious or intellectual or industrial, had no place.

The provision made for public education in Great Britain is framed on these principles. There is nothing in the code of the Board of Education from which Plato or Aristotle would have dissented. Indeed, the idea that education should be a matter of state concern is now prevalent throughout the Western world.

One distinction, however, must be noted. When the Greeks thought of state education, they contemplated a boon to be extended to a privileged class of citizens only. From this boon the slave population, which supplied those rudimentary economic services without which the state would have perished, was excluded. In the modern world the prerogative of a limited class has become the privilege of the whole people, and the critics of public education are not so much concerned with its short-comings as an instrument for fashioning the leaders of thought and action, as with the policy of extending to manual workers at great public expense an education which may be inappropriate to their needs.

Greek influence admits of no narrow definition. We think of the Greeks as the supreme rationalists, and of free philosophical speculation as their greatest gift to Man; but hardly has the mind touched on that aspect of the Greek legacy, when other facets of Greek influence strike upon the glass of memory and we recall the scholastic philosophy of the medieval Church, based on the speculations of Aristotle; the history of Pantheistic doctrine passing from a section of Aristotle's De Anima (On the Soul), through Averroes to the West; the mystical doctrines of Orphism and their influence on Christian religion and the art and poetry of the Middle Ages. In the brilliant and versatile civilization of Hellas everything was possible save stupidity and ugliness.

From this corner of the Mediterranean Sea there issued a series of thinkers, poets and artists who touched the summit of human genius.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE VII

B.C.	*Rome and the West*	B.C.	*Greece and the East.*
280	Pyrrhus in Italy; Roman defeat at Heraclea.	280	Philetærus at Pergamum.
279	Pyrrhus defeats Romans at Asculum.	279	Gallic invasion of Greece repulsed at Delphi.
278	Rome-Carthage alliance. Pyrrhus goes to Sicily.	278	Antigonus Gonatas becomes king of Macedon.
277	Pyrrhus campaigning in Sicily.	277	Gauls invade Asia Minor.
276	Pyrrhus returns to Tarentum.	276	Gauls defeated by Antiochus.
275	Pyrrhus, defeated at Beneventum, quits Italy.		
		274	War between Pyrrhus and Antigonus.
273	First treaty between Rome and Egypt.		
272	Surrender of Tarentum; end of Samnite war.	272	Death of Pyrrhus at Argos ends war.
271	Hiero of Syracuse besieges Mamertines.		
262	Romans capture Agrigentum (Acragas).	262	Eumenes of Pergamum defeats Antiochus I.
		261	India: Asoka's Kalinga War.
260	Rome builds fleet. Naval victory of Mylæ.		
		257	*India:* "Kalinga" and "Rock" edicts of Asoka.
256	Romans invade Africa; Carthage hard pressed.		
255	Xanthippus at Carthage. Defeat of Regulus.	255	Bacteria revolts against Antiochus II.
253	Great Roman fleet lost in a storm.		
		251	Aratus of Sicyon heads the Achæan League.
			India: Asoka's Buddhist mission to Ceylon.
250	Romans reject Carthaginian offer of peace.	249	*China:* End of Chou Dynasty.
249	Naval defeat of Romans at Drepanum.	247	Accession of Ptolemy III Euergetes in Egypt.
247	Hamilcar in Sicily. Birth of Hannibal.	242	*India:* "Pillar" edicts of Asoka.
242	Naval defeat of Hanno at Ægatian Islands.	241	Attalus I succeeds Eumenes at Pergamum.
241	Sicily becomes a Roman Province.	240	Great defeat of Galatians by Attalus.
		239	Death of Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon.
239	Birth of Ennuis.		
238	War with Boii renewed (after 45 years). Carthage surrenders Sardinia to Rome.		
236	Rome makes peace with the Boii. Hamilcar founds Carthaginian empire.	236	Cleomenes III king of Sparta.
		232	*India:* Death of Asoka; Maurya divided.
231	Sardinia and Corsica made one province.		
230	Rome declares war on Illyrian pirate states.		
229	Death of Hamilcar; Hasdrubal in his place. Illyrian war; Corcyra, etc., come into Roman alliance; Dalmatian coast.	229	Accession of Antigonus Doson in Macedon. Demetrius of Pharos left in control of
228	Rome admitted to the Isthmian Games. Negotiations with Greek states. Boundary agreement with Hasdrubal in Spain. New Carthage founded.		
		227	War of Cleomenes and Achæan League.
225	Roman victory over Gauls at Telamon.	225	Reforms of Cleomenes at Sparta.
224	Submission of Boii.	224	Aratus calls in Antigonus Doson.
222	Submission of Cisalpine Gaul to Rome.	222	Accession of Ptolemy IV Philopator in Egypt.
221	Death of Hasdrubal; Hannibal acclaimed.	221	Battle of Selasia; fall of Cleomenes.
			China: Shih Hwang Ti creates New Empire.
		220	*China:* Building of the Great Wall.
219	Rome expels Demetrius of Pharos, who goes to Philip. Hannibal attacks Saguntum.		
218	Declaration of (Second Punic) War. Fall of Saguntum. Hannibal evades Scipio in Gaul, and crosses the Alps.		
217	Scipios in Spain. Battle of Lake Trasimene. Q. Fabius Maximus made Dictator.	217	End of the war of the Leagues. Ptolemy defeats Antiochus at Raphia.
216	Death of Hiero of Syracuse. Battle of Cannæ; Hannibal occupies Capua.		
215	Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V. Hannibal in S. Italy, Romans in Spain and Sicily.		
214	First Macedonian war.	214	Antiochus recovers most of Asia Minor.
213	Scipios in Spain negotiate with Syphax of Numidia; Masinissa joins Carthaginians.	213	Death of Aratus.
			China: Burning of the Books by Shih Hwang Ti.
212	Destruction of Roman armies in Spain.		
211	Young Scipio sent to Spain. Fall of Capua. Macedonian war; Romans ally with Ætolians and a Greek coalition against Philip and Achæans.		
210	Successes of Scipio; takes New Carthage. Egypt renews alliance with Rome	210	*China:* Death of Shih Hwang Ti.
209	Hasdrubal evades Scipio.	209–5	Eastern campaigns of Antiochus III.
208	Hasdrubal escapes into Gaul.	208	Philopœmen commands Achæan League.
207	Hasdrubal crosses the Alps; is killed.	207	Philopoemen's victory at Mantinea.
		206	Antiochus recognizes Euthydemus of Bactria.
			China: Western Han Dynasty begins.
205	Scipio in Sicily.	205	Accession of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes.
			Philip and Antiochus conspire against Ptolemy
204	Scipio invades Africa; Masinissa joins him.		
203	Syphax overthrown by Scipio and Masinissa.		
202	Siege of Carthage. Battle of Zama.		
201	Carthage submits to peace terms dictated by Scipio.		

NEW IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN BY ROME'S RISE TO POWER

Before the third century B.C. the eastern Mediterranean was all-important; west of Greece no capital power had as yet arisen. But the wars of the Succession States after the death of Alexander the Great plunged western Asia and Greece into confusion, while in Italy a new force was coming into being, Rome. Her defeat of Pyrrhus consolidated her predominance in Italy; and by 275 B.C. she had only one rival, Carthage, which she crippled in the First Punic War and totally destroyed in the Third. Rome was left supreme in the Mediterranean, and thereafter followed that expansion of her power which resulted in universal dominion.

Chronicle VII

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN POWER: 280—202 B.C.

THE end of the Samnite Wars left Rome incomparably the greatest power in Italy, but neither the north nor the south yet owned her as mistress. The Lucanians, no longer useful to Rome as a check on the Samnites, were renewing their attacks on the Greek cities. Distrusting Tarentum, the most powerful and prosperous among them, the rest in 283 appealed for protection not to her but to Rome.

The Romans sent help promptly and effectively; the populace of Tarentum lost its head, insulted the Roman commissioners, made trouble among the other Greek cities, prepared to avenge a nominal grievance by war, and appealed to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who had married a daughter of Agathocles, and seems to have regarded himself as his predestined successor. What Alexander had done in the Persian Empire, Pyrrhus evidently thought was possible also in the West, and Tarentum seemed the necessary base for such conquests.

Pyrrhus came to the rescue; but the other Greek cities had not asked for him, and the Romans had no intention of resigning her protectorate to a nominee of Tarentum.

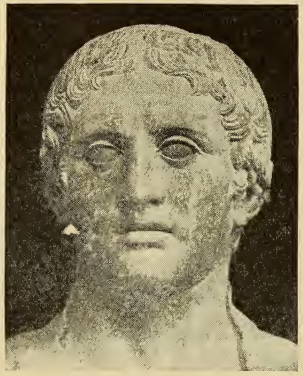
Pyrrhus it seems had not heard much about the Romans; what he heard now evoked his respect; still more, what he saw, with a soldier's eye, in hard fighting at Heraclea and at Ausculum. Italian dominion was clearly not for him; he had come too late, and if Carthage was the enemy, as he had learned from Agathocles, there was nothing to be gained by quarreling with Rome too. Carthage having other views sent a squadron up to the Tiber mouth to offer help against Pyrrhus. The effect of the "third Treaty" now concluded between Rome and Carthage was to limit Pyrrhus' career in the West to aggression against the Greek states which he had nominally come to protect against either Rome or Carthage, or both; for it prevented him from making use of either of the contracting parties against the other.

After two Italian campaigns, in which though he always won battles, Pyrrhus was losing more men than he could afford, he moved on into Sicily (278).

The Carthaginians had not waited to be attacked. When Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily, they were besieging Syracuse, his necessary base, and looking for him with their fleet. He evaded their ships, however, drove off their field army, captured Panormus and Eryx, and refused their offer to surrender everything in Sicily except Lilybæum, which they really needed if they were to keep their hold on Sardinia. He seems to have hoped to reach Africa as Agathocles had done; but his losses had been heavy, and reinforcements were few. Meanwhile Tarentum was hard pressed by the Romans, and between them and the Carthaginian fleet he might find himself interned in Sicily. So he returned into Italy, fought one more campaign with the Romans, lost it, because the Romans had learned meanwhile how to deal with his "Pyrrhic phalanx" and his elephants, and so returned home, to die ingloriously three years later. His parting words were memorable: "What a battlefield I am leaving for Carthage and Rome!"

In the year of his death (272 B.C.) Tarentum was surrendered to the Romans; Greek cities and Bruttian tribes, with their valuable forest-country, surrendered likewise, and the main lines of communication between Campania and Magna Græcia were secured by Roman "colonies." In the north, where the last free Etruscan city, Volsinii, revolted and was destroyed in 264 B.C., similar precautions were taken; so that all Italy now, from the Strait of Messina to the Apennine frontier towards the Gauls, became a single political whole, including indeed self-governed Greek colonies "in alliance with the Roman people," and Italian townships managing their own local affairs. But the whole was dominated by the "Senate and People" of Rome, and garrisoned by substantial detachments of citizens domiciled in the

great "colonies" on the lands of those tribes which had given most trouble, or held the strongest natural positions. The place attained by Rome in the eyes of the world was attested by an embassy of amity in 273 from the Macedonian king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus; the first recognition of the kind she had received.



SYRACUSAN IMPERIALIST

An able soldier, Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, made himself king of Sicily and was establishing his power in southern Italy when he died in 289 B.C.
National Museum, Naples

Now Agathocles in his day had made large use of free companies of highland irregulars from the mainland. Messana had fallen at Agathocles' death into the hands of one of these bands of Mamertini or "Sons of Mars"—who made themselves a nuisance to their neighbors on both coasts, and to all who used the straits, that is to say, particularly to Greek traders from all parts.

They had recently been in league with a company of their Campanian countrymen, who, being in the Roman service, had mutinied, seized Rhegium, and held it against the Romans for ten years. The revolt had been suppressed in 270 by the aid of the commander of the Syracusan forces, who bore the historic name of Hieron (or Hiero as the Romans called him), and immediately afterwards had made himself master and "king" of Syracuse (270-216); much as Agathocles and Dionysius had done before him.

In 265 B.C. Hiero thought it time to make an end of the Mamertine pirates; and, so far as their own merits went, no one was likely to be aggrieved. But the Mamertines were not Greeks, and could make themselves very useful to Carthage, the traditional enemy of all things Greek. On the other hand, they were of Italian origin, and Rome now stood as the conscious and very efficient protector of all Italian interests. The Mamertines offered themselves and their Sicilian city to the Romans.

If the Romans helped the Mamertines, who were (as we have seen) evil breakers of the peace, they must offend Hiero, their friend and well wisher, and their own Greek allies, who had suffered worst from Mamertine ravages. They would probably also offend Carthage, and Carthage could put much trouble in their way. The Mamertines, while they were of Italian origin, were being threatened by the city which had shown most capacity for managing Greek interests on a large scale. But if Rome refused help, would not Carthage herself step in? Left to itself, the Senate might have abandoned the Mamertines to their fate, and Carthage, evidently expecting this, and encouraged by another faction in Messana, sent their required help. This settled the matter; popular clamor and business interests combined to force the Senate's hand. An advance force was sent to Messana, made touch with the partisans of Rome in the city, and ejected the Carthaginians, whose government, with characteristic abruptness, executed their own general, made alliance with Syracuse, reconciled Hiero with the Mamertines, and sent over a fresh force to support both against the Romans. By the end of the year, however, they had been expelled from the neighborhood of Messana, and Hiero was shut up in Syracuse.

But the main issue was now clear: was Rome or Carthage to guide the fortunes of Sicily? Hiero saw that to coöperate with Carthage now, against the new power which had delivered the Greeks of Italy from Etruscan, Samnite and Lucanian, from the Gauls and from Pyrrhus, would be folly and treason unimaginable. Under Roman protectorate, Syracuse and all western Greeks would be safe; with Greek subsidies, ships and crews Rome

could be trusted to win; and Roman victory meant the expulsion of Phœnicians from Sicily. Hiero accordingly offered the Romans the possession of Messana and a subsidy of one hundred talents annually for fifteen years if they would guarantee his "kingship" of Syracuse. It was a small price to pay for security unattainable otherwise; and for the Romans, too, the bargain was a good one (263).

The "First Punic War," accidentally begun but directed to a clear issue by the statesmanship of Hiero, lasted twenty years, and ended with the total defeat of Carthage. But it was a hard struggle, and the result was long doubtful.

In the first three years (264-261 B.C.) the Romans captured the great fortress of Acragas, or Agrigentum, and confined the Carthaginian forces to the rugged western districts around their own ports. But by resigning territory Carthage simplified the problems of defense on land, and was able to raid not only the Greek coast cities, but also the long Roman lines of communication, which were mostly within reach of the sea. For this state of things there was but one remedy: "a sea power, with its arsenal overseas, can only be vanquished on the sea, and by superior sea power."

If Rome was to win, Rome must have a fleet; and in the second stage of the war (260-253) not only was this accomplished, with liberal help from Greek "naval allies" organized on a grand scale, but in spite of early defeats, and other disasters due to Roman inexperience, the traditional seamanship of the Carthaginians was foiled by mechanical devices for bringing their ships to a standstill, and so "fighting a land battle on the water." In 256 the destruction of the Carthaginian "grand fleet" off Heraclea on the south coast of Sicily by a Roman squadron, laid open the way to Africa. Here the natives rose against their masters, as they had risen for Agathocles, and the Roman force advanced within sight of Carthage.

RECORDS OF THE FIRST ELEPHANT CORPS USED IN ITALIAN WARFARE

In the army that Pyrrhus led against the Romans in 280 B.C. was a force of which the Italians had no experience whatsoever—war-elephants. One of these, bearing a howdah occupied by Greek soldiers, is represented in a contemporary South Italian platter (left). The legend that at Asculum (279) the corps was stampeded by the grunting of swine is perpetuated by the Capuan bronze "brick" in the British Museum (right) which has an elephant on the obverse, a sow on the reverse.

Museo Villa Giulia, Rome (photo Alinari), and Hill, "Historical Roman Coins"

At this point peace might have been made; but the Roman commander, Regulus, demanded too much; the Carthaginians found in the Lacedæmonian adventurer Xanthippus a soldier of genius to reorganize and lead their forces; Regulus was defeated and captured, and the survivors of his army were wrecked on their homeward journey. The Roman "blow at the heart" had failed (255).

For a while only coast defence squadrons were in commission, and Roman commanders concentrated their resources on the reduction of enemy fortresses in Sicily. By 250 B.C. only Lilybæum and a new naval base at Drepanum remained untaken, and it became clear once more that these remote ports might hold out indefinitely, if the Romans could not blockade them also by sea. Again Carthage tried to compromise, but her overtures were flatly rejected, owing, as one established Roman tradition affirms, largely to the heroic urgings of the captive consul Regulus, who had been sent to Rome on parole with a very different purpose; but now deliberately returned to Carthage with the disappointed and angry ambassadors, there to suffer a barbarous death at the hands of his vindictive captors. But at Rome the memory of him was cherished and revered, as the supreme exemplar of the qualities Pietas and Gravitas, to which above all else Rome loved to think that she owed her greatness.

So Rome resolved to see the war to a satisfactory end and began building ships again, and training admirals in the rude school of naval disasters.

The fourth stage of the war opens in 247 B.C. with the appearance of a Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar Barca, worthy of the honorably descriptive name (Barca, or Barak, means "lightning") that he bore. By vigorous privateering—cutting the Romans' communications, he prolonged the desperate resistance of the blockaded fortresses, and all but exhausted the resources and the determination of the besiegers.

FINALLY, in 242 B.C., the perilous experiment of naval action was adopted once more by the Senate. The new fleet was built with private subscriptions, but it was well found, and at last efficiently handled. Its sole commission was to cut off supplies from the now doomed Sicilian fortresses. It succeeded. The Carthaginian government could do no more; there were native revolts in Africa; and mercenaries will not fight long without pay. Hamilcar was prepared to persist, but was induced at last to conduct the peace negotiations himself.

The Roman terms were severe: Carthage was to evacuate Sicily and surrender it to Rome, with all adjacent islands; to restore prisoners and deserters; to pay an immense indemnity spread over ten years; and to promise not to make war in future on Hiero or his allies. Hiero's territory was enlarged, and his independence as an ally of Rome guaranteed. Messana and a few other cities were received likewise into "free" and equal alliance; but the rest of Sicily remained in Roman hands as conquered territory, administered by a resident governor and chief justice, sent annually from Rome, and paying to Rome a tithe on all produce, and harbor dues on all imports and exports (241), a new departure in Roman foreign policy. The best reason for the new distinction which thus arose between "Italians" and "provincials" was that the civilization of the Sicilians was fundamentally Greek; their laws, customs, and beliefs were Greek. It seemed, therefore, to be the more considerate course to leave them in enjoyment of their own culture with only a Roman appeal court to see that local customs were observed, and so prevent private grievances from breeding political discontent, and with a Roman commissioner to organize local resistance in case of attack, until the home government could make and complete preparations to intervene.

But it was one thing to make local taxation balance the expenses of administration, and quite another to impose a permanent tribute for the use of the "Senate and People of Rome." Worse still, the mismanagement of the "public lands" (confiscated as already described from the more obstinate of the conquered peoples), which had long been a public scandal in Italy, was greatly aggravated when it occurred on the very large scale which seems to have been allowed in Sicily, and with only the quite inadequate supervision of an annually appointed governor, without opportunity for inspection, or even experience of the system.

If Rome had suffered heavily in the war, Carthage was almost ruined; and the peace brought worse disasters still. First, the vast mercenary forces which had been levied, but not yet transported to Sicily, mutinied for arrears of pay; and for three years the Carthaginians carried their lives in their hands, while the "truceless war" raged till Hamilcar's strategy and personal influence outmatched the blunders of the government and the blind fury of the rebels, and exterminated the survivors of the army he had hoped to command. Though Rome refused to take advantage of this African mutiny, it was another matter when Hamilcar was at last able to set sail for Sardinia to deal with a similar rebellion there. This the Roman Senate chose to regard as a breach of the peace treaty, and by way of compensation extorted not only an additional indemnity, but the surrender of Sardinia itself, and Corsica also. Probably the mere knowledge that Hamilcar was at sea at all bred panic, and cruel injustice; but whatever the motive, the possession of these imperfectly civilized islands gave Rome frequent anxiety thereafter; and, worst of all, provoked Hamilcar to the vast project of reprisals in Spain, which occupied the remainder of his life.

WALLED ERYX

The ramparts of Eryx, where Hamilcar established himself in 244 B.C., and its temple are represented in this coin.

British Museum

The First Punic War was probably inevitable. It was the outcome of centuries of well matched rivalry between Greek and Phœnician on Sicilian soil, and of the complications oversea, as far distant as Etruria, Corsica and Epirus, which that rivalry provoked. Now, after almost as long a preparation, the quite separate feud between highland and lowland peoples in Italy had been settled wholly in favor of the latter; and the lowland interests of Italy, with the sole exception of Etruria, were intimately connected with those of the Greek cities on the coasts. In the course of that struggle for supremacy in Italy the other question, whether Etruria was to retain its early mastery, had been settled in Campania by the Samnite invasion, and farther north by Rome and its Latin allies. Finally the blunders of Tarentum and its Spartan and Epirote helpers had convinced all Magna Graecia that the West fared best when it looked after itself; that their sole alternative to hereditary feuds and divided counsels was general but separate agreement to coöperate with Rome. And if Greek freedom of intercourse with Phocæan Massalia (called by the Romans Massilia, modern Marseilles) was to be assured, Corsica, at least, and even Sardinia, must be in friendly control.

Africa, on the other hand, and western Libya were a separate affair; west of Sicily there had never been Greek colonies. Daughter cities of Massalia, indeed, existed as far afield as Tarraco near the mouth of the Ebro; but with these exceptions Spain, like Africa, was unexplored by Greeks, and there is little reason to believe that even Phœnicians had seriously tapped the wealth of the land, except around Gades (Cadiz).

The Carthaginians, therefore, had not lost everything, though they had been driven out of waters where they necessarily collided with Greeks, and increasingly with Italian traders also, as their commercial treaties with the Romans show. There were two distinct careers still open to them: their original exploitation of Africa, both the mountainous north and the oases and caravan routes towards the Niger basin, in the first place; and the development of trade in the farther west of the Mediterranean, above described. Conservative managers were prepared to be content with Africa, relying on mutually advantageous trade with their late enemies to make good their losses of oversea territory. Hamilcar Barca on the other hand was for the bolder plan of forestalling Greek and Roman alike in Spain, while that was still possible. It was in the long run

THE STATES OF THE EAST AFTER DISINTEGRATION OF EMPIRE FOUNDED BY ALEXANDER

Three kingdoms ruled by dynasties established by Macedonian generals emerged from the wreck of Alexander's empire. Under the Ptolemies Egypt entered upon a period of renewed prosperity; the Seleucid kings of Syria secured most of the Asiatic territories conquered by Alexander; and Macedonia was ruled by the descendants of Antigonus. Parthia, however, revolted from the Syrian kingdom, and eventually became a powerful independent empire; India quickly recovered from the Macedonian conquest, and prospered under a line of great emperors, including the saintly Asoka. In China Shih Hwang Ti welded the feudal provinces into a centralized empire.

the inability of Carthage to choose definitely between these two policies, and also to keep family feuds out of public life, that forfeited the fruits of both.

The "new world" of Spain, to which Hamilcar now (238) turned, with the skeptical and lukewarm concurrence of the home government, was a continent rather than a country. Around its great central plateau lie to the northwest the distant, rugged, barbarous, but metal-yielding highlands, to the northeast the wide trough of the Iberus (Ebro) valley, which gives its ancient name to the whole "Iberian" peninsula. Southeast, a continuation of the Atlas range curves round from the Strait, parallel with the Mediterranean coast, and sinks seaward to form the chain of the Balearic islands; like the northwest, this highland is very rich in copper and other ores. Behind this, and between it and the south edge of the plateau, lies the Guadalquivir basin, like another Ebro, and of almost tropical fertility. Beyond, the range which reaches the sea at Cape St. Vincent is another mining district, and then come the coastal plains of Portugal, intersected by the great rivers which drain the central plateau. Smaller frontage plains, on the Mediterranean littoral, extend some way both north and south from Cape Nao opposite the Balearic islands.

Hamilcar found a new base in a detached spur of the southeastern range, midway in the more southerly of the frontage plains already noted. At its seaward end it is the south horn of a deep bay, which has caused a long bar of shingle to form across its mouth and enclose a lagoon, while river-silt has accumulated landward, in a very fertile plain. The situation is in essentials a duplicate of that of Carthage itself; defensible promontory, safe harbor, flanking lagoon, adjacent garden ground, with arable and pasture beyond and good valley routes through the mountains towards the plateau and the headwaters of the Guadalquivir River.

Here then "New Carthage" was set out; and modern Cartagena preserves its name. How it flourished, and what success Hamilcar had in conciliating native peoples and exploiting natural wealth, is evident from the treaty which was drafted after Hamilcar's death in 228 B.C. between his son-in-law Hasdrubal and the Romans, by which the Ebro river was to be recognized as defining the spheres of influence of Rome and Carthage respectively. But it illustrates the indifference with which responsible people in Carthage regarded Hamilcar's doings, that this agreement seems to have been neither rejected nor ratified; and certainly the Romans made no secret, a few years later, of their alliance with Saguntum, which lay nearly a hundred miles south of the Ebro, and moreover was the key to the rich coast plain of Valencia.

In eight years more, by 220 B.C., all the native peoples up to the Ebro line had been brought into formal subjection to Carthage; only Saguntum remained not only independent but positively allied with Rome. Hasdrubal was dead (he had been assassinated in 221), and it was on his successor Hannibal that the responsibility lay for what followed. Hannibal was the son of Hamilcar Barca; he had been consecrated from boyhood to avenge his father's expulsion from Sicily, and was a man of amazing energy and resource, one of the great personal leaders of all time. Cautious heads in Carthage had done what they could to prevent his succession to the Spanish viceroyalty; but his father's army worshipped him, and would have no other; so the government accepted him. The Spanish venture had been throughout a personal enterprise of his family; there was no obligation to support him, and in case of trouble he could be disowned. It seems certain that Carthage itself did not want another war with Rome.

Nor did the Romans want it. Since the treaty with Hasdrubal they had been forced to undertake heavy work by a fresh raid of Gauls from beyond the Alps; they had been obliged to occupy Gaulish territory as far as the Po, to found colonies at Placentia and Cremona, for the defense of the passage of this river, and to raid beyond it as far as Mediolanum (Milan), and at this moment, in 221 B.C. their whole field force was in Illyria across the Adriatic, destroying the league of pirates which had been harrying the east coast of Italy.

The significance of the Illyrian affair

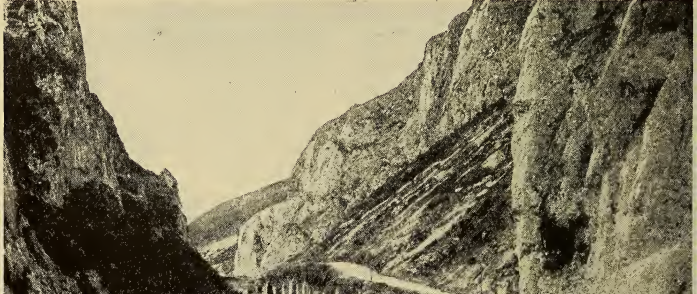
is not to be overlooked. Piracy had long been rife in the Adriatic, with which until recently Rome had scarcely been concerned; but the Punic War had left her mistress of its Italian shore as Dionysius of Syracuse had once been for a short time; and her orderly instincts gave her a corresponding sense of responsibility. In suppressing the Illyrian buccaneering power, she appeared as the protector primarily of Greek commerce, a champion of Hellenic interests against the barbarian; and by so doing she was preparing the states of Greece to turn to her as protector against Macedonian aggression.

All these operations tended to consolidate the Roman power in Italy; if the Roman domination restricted political liberties, it as least gave as compensation an unwonted security. But for Rome they had been costly and exhausting; and the last thing she desired was to be forced into a war likely to prove still more costly and still more exhausting, of which the issue would be extremely doubtful.

Accordingly, when the news reached Rome that Hannibal was attacking Saguntum, the Romans sent him only a formal protest; and when this was ignored, took up the affair with the responsible government of Carthage. Here opinion was divided: one party wished to surrender Hannibal and compensate Rome, but Hannibal's friends prevailed; and the result was the "Hannibalic war" of the next seventeen years.

THE critical struggle in the West (218-202) involved the first entanglement of Macedonian affairs with those of Rome; so that before proceeding to the story of the Second Punic War, we must follow the developments that had been taking place in the world lying east of the Adriatic Sea since Pyrrhus planned his great adventure in the West in 280.

In that year Ptolemy Ceraunus stab-



MILITARY HIGHWAY BUILT TO SECURE ROME'S NORTHERN MARCHES

To make his victories over the Gauls in Italy permanent, the censor Gaius Flaminius had the old military road that connected Rome with Spoletium extended to Ariminum (see map in page 813). Named the Flaminian Road after him, it now ran across the main ridge of the Apennines to Cales, and thereafter followed the pass of Intercisa (modern Furlo), where it is seen above. At Forum Fortunæ it touched the Adriatic coast, which it skirted until Ariminum was reached.

Photo, Alinari

bed his benefactor Seleucus in the back while engaged in a religious ceremony, and was somewhat incomprehensibly hailed as king by the army. Lysimachus and Poliorcetes were dead; the son of the latter, Antigonus Gonatas, and the son of Seleucus, Antiochus I of Syria, were not immediately ready to challenge the assassin and usurper. His career, however, was cut short by a new and unlooked-for enemy. He was slain in the same year, in battle with the Gauls.

There is no earlier record of a recognizable Celtic incursion in the East. When the first Celtic tide flowed westwards, it had not struck the lower waters of the Danube. But now in the early third century B.C., swarms of Gauls—whether they were a back-flow, as seems more probable, or a belated horde—flooded into Thrace. The crown was hardly on Ptolemy's head when he had to march against them, to his own doom. In 279 they poured down through Thessaly into Phocis; but at Delphi the god—so runs the legend—guarded his own against the sacrilegious barbarian with earthquakes and portents; and the demoralized Gauls were put to utter rout by the hastily gathered levies of the Greek cities. They rolled back into Thrace, where for some time to come they remained in possession.

In the turmoil which followed the death of Ceraunus, Antigonus Gonatas won the Macedonian crown, but had to fight hard for it. For Pyrrhus on his return from the West advanced a rival claim; the cities of Greece were tumbled into the fray; and it was only brought to an ignominious end when Pyrrhus was killed by a tile, flung by a woman's hand from a house-top, as he was fighting his way through the streets of Argos (272).

Pyrrhus left no efficient successor. As a soldier, Hannibal rated him as second only to Alexander; but, being a soldier for the love of soldiering, and nothing more, he achieved a magnificent reputation, and accomplished nothing at all.

Just over half a century, then, after the death of Alexander, the dynasties of three of his generals were established in three parts of the vast dominion of which he had made himself lord. The grandson of Antigonus ruled in Europe, the son of Seleucus in Asia, the son of Ptolemy in Egypt. But as in the ancient days, Egypt disputed the sovereignty in a great part of Syria; while most of what lay west and north of the Taurus barrier was broken up into independent and ill-defined kingdoms, or states whose rulers had not yet assumed royal title.

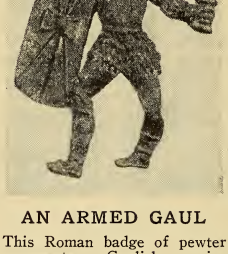
Antigonus Gonatas was secured in Macedon by the fall of his brilliant and dangerous rival, in 272. Theoretically, the states of Greece were still independent; but the old states were as incapable as ever of effective combination, and individually there was not now any one of them strong enough to impose active coöperation on others, or by itself to challenge the supremacy, which in actual fact meant the dictation, of the king of Macedon. The support given to Pyrrhus by several Peloponnesian cities and by Athens now afforded Gonatas an excuse for reducing them to subjection, and establishing in most of them tyrants who were at his service.

Within the next few years, however, two leagues were coming into prominence, the Achæan and the Ætolian. Achæa is that strip of the Peloponnese which lies on the shore of the Gulf of Corinth. Hitherto it had played no conspicuous part in history. The league in which its cities had united themselves practically formed a neutral state amid the general commotions. But it had felt the heavy hand of Antigonus, and in 251 it was joined by Sicyon under the guidance of Aratus, who had effected the expulsion of the tyrants who ruled there by favor of Macedon. Aratus at once became the moving spirit of the Achæan League, which within a few years was joined by city after city within and without the Peloponnese, Sparta as usual holding aloof.

The Ætolian League was a long-standing confederation of the politically undeveloped highland tribes in the West, on the north side of the Corinthian Gulf. In the past, Ætolia had stood clear of Greek political complications. Latterly, however, it had been absorbing wider territories, and after the death of Gonatas in 239 the Ætolians were even succeeding in bringing considerable portions of the Peloponnese under their sway.

Antigonus Gonatas was succeeded by his son Demetrius II, who died in 229, leaving an heir (afterwards Philip V), who was as yet too young to succeed. For nine years the throne was occupied by his cousin and guardian Antigonus Doson, on whose death in 220 Philip, being then only seventeen, became king, Antigonus having regarded himself as regent on behalf of the boy.

This brought them into direct conflict with the Achæan League, which appealed to Macedon. Philip sent aid, but deserted Aratus in 217. For Hannibal was now in Italy and Demetrius of Pharos, one of the pirate chiefs, appealed for aid against Rome. Philip's eyes were turned to the West, and from this time Greek affairs are intertwined with the story of Rome. Philip made alliance with Hannibal; as he was the friend of the Achæans, the Ætolians sought and obtained alliance with Rome; but both to Rome and to Macedon, though both intervened, the affairs of Greece were a secondary matter. The conflict was in 205 closed for the time by a decisive victory won over the Ætolians and Lacedæmonians by the great Arcadian captain of the Achæan League, Philopœmen (c. 243-183), at Mantinea.



AN ARMED GAUL

This Roman badge of pewter represents a Gaulish warrior of the period of the Celtic invasions of Thrace.
British Museum

When Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus he had actually become lord of all that had once been the Persian empire except Egypt and the Indian satrapy, with the addition of Alexander's farthest eastern conquest, Sogdiana; but in Asia Minor his authority was merely nominal. In the sixty years following his death, his successors, Antiochus I (280-261), Antiochus II Theos (261-246), Seleucus II (246-226) and Seleucus III (226-223), were wholly ousted from Asia Minor, lost all the territories east of Persis proper and Media, where new powers were rising, and lost to Egypt Phœnicia and a substantial part of Syria, though the Syrian or Seleucid power revived under Antiochus III, called "the Great" (223-187).

In Asia Minor the native kingdoms of Cappadocia, Pontus and Bithynia were already established. The Macedonian Philetærus and his nephew Eumenes were founding a principality of their own at Pergamum. In 277 the Gauls from Thrace, first coming at the invitation of Nicomedes of Bithynia, poured into the country, and though Antiochus inflicted a severe defeat on them, he could not prevent them from conquering a great area in the center, where their confederacy became known as Galatia. The Gallic menace was not in fact quelled till Attalus I of Pergamum (241-197), the successor of Eumenes, refused to pay the accustomed blackmail demanded by the brigand power, and by a decisive victory delivered the neighboring lands from their aggressions—incidentally winning thereby grateful recognition as King of Pergamum, and a large accession of territory.

The reigns of Antiochus I and II were much occupied with a series of "Syrian" wars with Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246), the effect of which was to place most of the south coast of Asia Minor as well as Phœnicia in Ptolemy's control. Antiochus II was still reigning when, in 250, Diodotus the governor of Batcria declared his independence, and two enterprising nomad chiefs, Arsaces and Tiridates, ejected the governor of Parthia and founded the Arasacid Dynasty of what was to be ere long the Parthian empire.

Seleucus II, who almost throughout his twenty years' reign was at war with his brother Antiochus Hierax, failed to recover what had already been lost, and lost more of Asia Minor to Attalus. During this reign, Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-222), a celebrated patron of literature and the arts, as his father had also been, carried conquering arms as far as Susa and bore back to Egypt vast spoils,

but did not seek to retain his fresh acquisitions. A year after the accession of Antiochus III, Ptolemy IV Philopater (222-205) succeeded Euergetes in Egypt.

The young king of northern Syria—for at the beginning of his reign Antiochus was hardly more—showed energy and capacity. He crushed a revolt in Media and Persis, and recovered Phœnicia; but when he attempted a direct attack on Egypt he met with a crushing defeat at Raphia (217) which compelled him to relinquish this conquest, though Ptolemy made no further use of the victory. But in the course of the next few years Antiochus carried his arms into Parthia, where Arsaces III was forced to acknowledge his suzerainty, and into Bactria, where Euthydemus, the successor of Diodotus, only saved his independence by threatening to call in the Scythians, which would have meant the disappearance of that Hellenism of which the house of Seleucus boasted itself to be traditional champion. Before the Bactrian expedition, he had recovered lost provinces in Asia Minor from Pergamum. Thus when the Punic War in the West was drawing to its close, Antiochus "the Great" was the most powerful potentate east of the Adriatic and west of the Hindu Kush.

In India, however, the great Maurya empire, founded by Chandragupta, had in the meantime been glorified by the reign of Asoka; and far away in unknown China important events were happening.

China was in effect a vast empire of the order commonly called feudal; that is, the whole was an aggregation of principalities or baronies, large and small, which professed allegiance to one emperor whose actual authority was of the slightest. Since about the twelfth century B.C. the Chou dynasty had been reigning. Towards the middle of the third century a group of confederate barons headed by the prince of T'sin, on the western march, overturned the Chous without immedately setting up a new emperor. But in 220 the young and exceedingly vigorous prince who had recently succeeded in T'sin, the most powerful of the principalities, boldly declared himself sole emperor by the name of Shih Hwang Ti and proceeded to make good his position.

In the ten years of his reign (220-210) he built the Great Wall of China, a solid rampart 1,200 miles in length, against the nomads, from T'sin in the west to the northeastern sea—the labor involved must have been terrific—and he deliberately destroyed nearly all the books and records, in particular the works of Confucius, to which Chinese conservatism could appeal in support of the system which he was engaged in obliterating. The books which were not burned in the holocaust were saved and secreted at the peril of the lives of their saviors, of whom some five hundred were actually buried alive; while thousands, probably, were sent to labor on the building of the Wall. While Shih Hwang Ti reigned,

FOUNDER OF A DYNASTY

Philetærus, the first ruler of Pergamum, achieved his position by skillful political intrigue, having originally governed that city for Lysimachus of Thrace. He is here represented on a Pergamene tetradrachm, with Athena on the reverse.

From John Ward, "Greek Coins" (*Murray*)

there was no doubt about the power of the central authority. He did not live long enough to found a dynasty; but that was done a few years after his death by a soldier of peasant origin, known to history as Kao-ti or Kao-Tsu (206-193), who became the first ruler of the great dynasty of Han.

In India Chandragupta had so extended the Magadha dominion that when he abdicated in 298 he was recognized sovereign from Herat to the Narbada and the Ganges Delta. When his son and successor, Bindusara, died, after a reign of twenty-five years, in 273, the empire had been carried across the Narbada and embraced a great part of the Deccan or what is now the

Nizam's Dominion. There was, apparently, some dispute over the succession, for the accession of his son, Asoka, to the throne, was in 269.

AN ABLE AND SUCCESSFUL DESPOT

After crushing the Gauls in Asia Minor, Attalus I of Pergamum (who is almost certainly portrayed in this bust) took the title of king. A capable ruler, he enlarged his dominions, and encouraged learning and the arts.

Berlin Museum; from Delbrück, "Antike Porträts"

After the normal manner of Indian princes, Asoka started on a career of conquest, and subjugated Kalinga, the eastern territory lying between the rivers Mahanadi and Godavari. He conquered no more; and it was not that he lacked either the means or the ability, but simply because his campaigning experience made the miseries and iniquities of war utterly detestable to him. He had undergone conversion. What is fundamental in the story, if it can be called a story, of his reign, which ended in 232, we know from his own "pillar edicts" and "rock edicts," which constitute an autobiography; the later fictions of Buddhist monks may be ignored. Conversion with him meant that he embraced the doctrines of Buddhism with conviction, and on the moral side not only practiced them himself but required his ministers to make them the basis of their administration.

His vast realm was governed on the principles of an intelligent humanitarianism, which relied upon moral force but was under no illusions as to the need for efficient physical force behind it. Significantly, his subjects are bidden to turn from evil ways "lest they be chastised," and doubtless he was puritanically severe in compelling them to abandon practices enjoined by long religious usage but incompatible with Buddhist teaching. But the unique fact in his regime was his constant insistence upon truth, justice, reverence and compassion, but above all compassion, in public administration no less than in private conduct.

Nor does it seem possible to doubt that so long as he lived the enlightened experiment was amazingly successful. After the victorious war which made Asoka loathe war, the reign was one of unbroken peace; a peace, moreover, which was extended beyond the borders of the empire, because independent potentates in their quarrels learned to seek in the arbitration of the great king a better solution than in the arbitrament of battle.

Such an empire, however, as that of Asoka needs a succession of Asokas to weld it into permanence. Of what befell after his death in 232 we have the scantiest knowledge.

THE Second Punic War, like the first, falls into distinct stages, which we summarize. The Roman plan of attack was to invade Africa at once with the

FIRST KING OF PARTHIA

Arsaces, having headed a successful revolt of the Parthians against Antiochus II of Syria (250 B.C.), founded the Parthian Kingdom. He is depicted on the obverse (left) of this tetradrachm struck a century later by Mithradates I.

British Museum

first army, and at least disorganize Carthaginian mobilization. The second army was sent to Massalia, in case Hannibal should interfere with friends of Rome north of the Ebro. A third force was obviously required to garrison the Gaulish territories between the Apennines and the Po, which had only surrendered three years before, and were known to have been visited by agents of Hannibal, and to have promised him free passage if he should try to reach Italy by land.

Some of the Gauls indeed revolted at once, and delayed the departure of the northern force for Massalia, till it was too late to stop Hannibal even at the Rhône. For this was his master stroke, to circumvent both Roman sea power and Rome's Greek allies between the Ebro and the Alps, and establish an enemy base in the heart of the Roman dominion. He certainly counted on such measure of support from his friends in Carthage as would deplete the Roman garrisons in Italy, for the defense of Sicily and the south; with good fortune the Roman first army might be shut up in Africa and destroyed there like that of Regulus.

BRILLIANT RULERS OF HELLENIC EGYPT

Ptomely II Philadelphus (left) and Ptolemy III Euergetes (right) both increased the wealth and power of Egypt; and by their assiduous patronage of learning made Alexandria the greatest contemporary center of Greek culture. Ptolemy II married his sister—the famous Arsinoë (middle).

From Delbrück, "Antike Porträts," and John Ward, "Greek Coins"

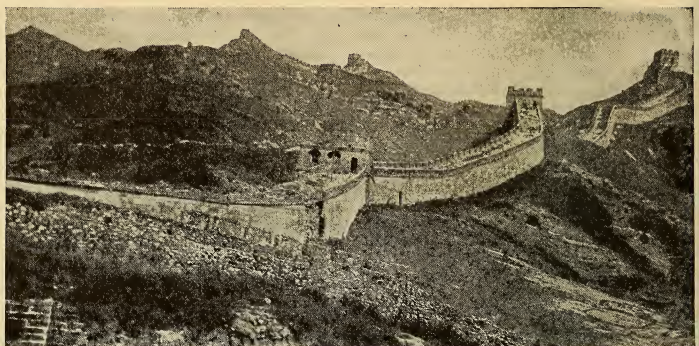
Fortunately, all the Roman commanders acted with true perspicacity. The southern army was diverted just as it was sailing for Africa, and brought round by sea to the Adriatic flank of the northern front, where the new military road gave it direct reinforcement from Rome. Consequently when Hannibal after unprecedented hardships descended on the Italian side of the Alps, he found a Roman field army strongly posted under shelter of the new garrison colonies on the Po.

More happily still, the force that was too late to intercept Hannibal at Massalia was led at once into Spain, to disorganize his only sure source of reinforcements, and undo the empire-building of his father and himself.

Hannibal's tactics and leadership, however, were as brilliant as his strategy. His first Italian campaign in 218 broke Roman resistance north of the Apennines at the fords of Trebia and Ticinus. His next destroyed their whole army (217) at Lake Trasimene in Etruria, and seemed to open the straight road to Rome. But the third year found him not at the gates of Rome, but far to the southward, now in Apulia, now in Campania; and even the victory in which he destroyed yet another whole army at Cannæ (216), brought him no nearer to his object than when he abandoned Etruria.

It was the worst disillusionment of Hannibal, that the peoples of Italy, and even what was left of the Etruscans, gave almost no sign of disaffection. Hannibal could remember the "Truceless War" between Carthage and her mercenaries, and the African campaign of Regulus was only ten years before his birth; but this was quite another situation. The subjects of Carthage had been ready enough to make common cause with her enemies; but Rome's bold experiment of clemency after surrender, and progressive incorporation of old enemies in her own commonwealth, had succeeded too completely for panic or desertion to be possible.

Hannibal's first stroke then had failed. But he had established himself in southern Italy, where Pyrrhus had fought, and he had secured possession of Capua, the key to Campania; it was another thirteen years before he left Italy by his own choice. He had, however, no seaport, and, what was worse, no assurance of



RAMPART TO PREVENT THE INCURSIONS OF BARBARIANS INTO CHINA

The strength of the central government in China under the Emperor Shih Hwang Ti is indicated by the fact that he could undertake so ambitious a work as the building of the Great Wall, although, indeed, it was not completed by him. Forced labor alone was employed, but the cost of operations must have been immense. Here we see the section that crosses the hills above the Nankow Pass.

Photo, Underwood

help from Carthage, which seems to have taken little further part in the war.

Two strokes of ill luck, however, befell the Romans in this middle period of the war. Hiero of Syracuse died in 216 B.C., a very old man; ancient feuds broke out there at once, and the popular party seized the chance to revive old dreams of Syracusan empire. These were encouraged by Hannibal, and also by the Carthaginian government, which profited by the Sicilian revolt to reoccupy a large part of the island; and it was only after two years' blockade that Syracuse was recovered and Hiero's hoarded wealth made available for the conduct of the war. Even so, Carthaginian forces were not completely expelled from the province until 210.

The other misfortune was the dislike of Rome inspired by Illyrian refugees in Philip V of Macedon, and the help consequently rendered by him to Hannibal from oversea, until the Romans managed to capture his Adriatic ports, and distract his attention by encouraging a coalition of Greek cities against him, and accepting the overtures of the Ætolian League, with the significant consequence that while Philip was not able to be of much use to Hannibal, and still less to Carthage, Rome succeeded at very small cost in confirming the reputation she had long enjoyed for her sympathy with Greek cities.

The "Fabian tactics" adopted by Q. Fabius Cunctator, of remaining on the defensive and refusing battle, had now been mastered by the Romans and gave the enemy little chance to gain spectacular successes like those of the first three campaigns; the whole country was sick of the war; the invader had outstayed his welcome, and a veteran army ages rapidly without reinforcements.

Hannibal had left in Spain his brother Hasdrubal, with instructions to follow with another flying column like the first. But the wise concurrence of the Senate in the strategy of the two Scipios, who had occupied first Massalia and then Tarraco near the mouth of the Ebro, in the first year of the war, quite deranged this plan. Their "New Rome" at Tarraco was a serviceable counter-stroke to "New Carthage," and their personal qualities and diplomatic skill shook the allegiance of native leaders in Spain, and even in Numidia. There was a reaction, however, about 212 B.C., for the Spanish tribes found that they had only made a

change of masters, and attempted to free themselves from the new ones. But the young and brilliant son of the consul of 218 volunteered for the Spanish command, and succeeded in 210 in capturing "New Carthage," and therewith much treasure, a serviceable fleet and, best of all, Hasdrubal's Spanish hostages.

By this time, however, Hasdrubal was ready; he slipped past Scipio's forces, spent the winter of 208 quietly in the central highlands of Gaul, and entered Italy unopposed in 207 B.C. Only the skillful cooperation of the two consular armies prevented his junction with Hannibal, which seemed inevitable. Leaving in the south only a portion of his army, which effectively masked his movement, C. Claudius Nero raced north with a picked force, joined his colleague Livius, surprised, defeated and killed Hasdrubal at the Metaurus river, east of the Apennines, and was back in the south before Hannibal discovered that only a skeleton force had been facing him. The battle of the Metaurus destroyed his last hope of receiving reinforcements.

Meanwhile Scipio had expelled the remaining Carthaginian forces from Spain, defeated their counter-attack in 206, and persuaded Masinissa, a leading chief of the Numidians, to exchange the Carthaginian for a Roman alliance. Having returned to Rome, he was then allowed (with grave misgiving among the older men) to raise a fresh army largely composed of Italian volunteers, for a blow at the heart of Carthaginian rule in Africa. Here, his old friendship with Masinissa enabled him to distract and eventually to capture Syphax, the chief Numidian ally of the Carthaginians, and to cut off at the source their supply of cavalry. Hannibal was paralyzed; Rome had been relieved of the Macedonian complication in 205, and was able now to concentrate upon the war in Africa.

By 202 B.C. the condition of the Carthaginian home territory was desperate. Hannibal, and his other brother, Mago, who had escaped from Spain and landed on the Riviera coast of Italy, were recalled to defend Carthage itself, and attempts were made to obtain peace before the situation became more serious. But Scipio and Masinissa, each for his own reasons, persisted; they defeated the last field army that Carthage could rake together at Zama, and were able to impose their own terms.

Carthage formally surrendered Spain, and all other dependencies outside the home district of Africa. Even within these narrow limits, no war was to be declared without Roman permission. All ships but ten were surrendered, all elephants, and prisoners of war; and the enormous indemnity that was imposed—ten thousand talents spread over fifty years—made the Carthaginians practically tributaries of their conqueror. Masinissa received the whole of Numidia and Roman citizenship, as the "friend and ally" of the Roman people, so that he could invoke Roman intervention in Africa, whenever it was convenient. Hannibal was allowed to remain in Carthage, and did what he could to restore public confidence and credit. But his old political enemies were too strong for him, and in 196 B.C. he was banished, and spent the rest of his life at the courts of Greek kings in Syria and in Asia Minor, always looking out for occasions to damage Rome, and build up new combinations against her.

STAGE ON WHICH ROME PLAYED OUT THE FIRST ACTS OF HER DRAMA

Illustrating the conditions in Italy during Rome's struggle first for existence and then for predominance, this map also serves Chronicle VII and the surrounding chapters. The period with which it deals stretches back to the beginning of the sixth century B.C., when Rome's rise or fall meant nothing to the Greek powers, and extends down to the Punic Wars, when these powers had begun to realize that it was no mere pack of Bruttian or Lucanian highlanders with whom they now had to reckon.

ROME AND THE REASONS FOR HER LATER GREATNESS

HOW A SMALL CITY STATE IN THE CENTER OF ITALY BECAME ONE OF THE GREAT POWERS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

By H. STUART-JONES, D.Litt.

Principal of University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1927-34; Late Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford; Author of Classical Rome, The Roman Empire, etc.

OUR sources for the early history of Rome must be approached in a critical spirit. The reasons for this are manifold. The Romans were late in taking up the writing of history, and the first works in which they treated of their past were scarcely two generations earlier than the time of Polybius, and were composed in Greek by writers contemporary with the Hannibalic war. Could we believe that the Year Books ('annales') which they compiled were derived from contemporary records we might accept the outlines of the narrative, based on their work and that of their successors, as giving at least a trustworthy framework of historical fact; but criticism shows that this is not so. We have, it is true, no continuous narrative of Roman Republican history in a complete form, but the first ten books of Livy cover the period from the origins of Rome down to 293 B.C., and for the earlier part of the story we have for comparison the Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek who came to Rome under Augustus and spent twenty-two years in learning the Latin language and studying the works of Roman writers. A contemporary of Livy and Dionysius, Diodorus the Sicilian, inserted in his Universal History brief notes on Western affairs. We also possess considerable remains of the table of annual magistrates and the Register of Triumphs compiled by order of Augustus and inscribed upon the walls of the Regia (the office of the Pontifex Maximus), which was rebuilt in marble in 36 B.C.

A comparison of these sources shows that no consistent version of the early history of Rome was current in the reign of Augustus, nor even a reliable chronological framework. In his second book Livy writes of the perplexing errors in chronology which arise from the varying order in which the names of the chief magistrates are arranged by different authorities, so that it is impossible to trace either a regular series of consuls or of the events which took place in the various years; and in other passages he suggests some of the reasons for this. The records kept by the college of Pontifices, he tells us, were destroyed in the sack of Rome by the Gauls.

Cicero speaks of the family traditions, embodied in funeral orations, which have filled history with falsehoods.

We are thus obliged to regard the details of early Roman history, such as it has come down to us in the main through Livy, with a sceptical eye; nor can we repose much greater confidence in the more technical account of Roman institutions and their development which we can piece together from the remains of the constitutional lawyers and antiquarians such as Cicero, Varro, the abridgements of the Encyclopaedia of Verrius Flaccus (a contemporary of Augustus who was perhaps the compiler of the Fasti) made by Festus and Paul the Deacon, and stray fragments of law books contained in the miscellany known as the Attic Nights of Gellius (who wrote in the second century A.D.) and elsewhere.

It will be better to rely, so far as is possible, on the evidence of survivals, which at Rome yields fruitful results by reason of the fact that it was the Roman habit, instead of discarding institutions which had outlived their usefulness, to retain them with restricted or altered functions.

Let us now examine the origins of Rome. 'From the beginning,' said Tacitus, 'Rome was ruled by kings'; and the current

legend connected the first of these with the dynasty established, as was believed, at Alba Longa by the son of the Trojan Aeneas. Now this legend was borrowed by the Romans from the Greek mythographers. Moreover, in its earliest form it assumed that Rome was founded two generations after the Trojan war, and when chronologists had fixed the date of the foundation in the eighth century B.C. a whole series of Alban kings had to be invented to bridge the gap.

That Rome was once ruled by kings is sufficiently proved by the evidence of survivals. 'Rex' was the official title of the senior among the great priests of the Roman state, dating probably from the fifth century B.C. The name of his palace —'regia'—was retained as that of the center of the state worship, where the 'pontifex maximus' had his office. But

EARLIEST INSCRIPTION IN ROME

A rectangular tufa stele, not later than the fifth century B.C., exhumed near the Forum, bears the earliest Latin inscription on stone. The word 'rex' significantly occurs on it.

though religious conservatism led the Romans to retain a simulacrum of kingship, the idea of an 'heroic' dynasty ruling by divine right is conspicuously absent from their legends, and on the other hand the later kings are represented as Etruscan overlords, bearing the name Tarquinii, which is that both of a family and of a city in Etruria. In this the Romans spoke truly. Rome's first steps to greatness were taken in a period of foreign rule.

At the time when Roman history begins the Italian peninsula was occupied by a diversity of races. The primitive inhabitants were represented by the Ligurians of the north-western coast and by the inhabitants of Picenum on the Adriatic seaboard. In the north-east the Veneti, whose name survives in that of Venice, and in the south-east the Messapians were apparently immigrants from the other side of the Adriatic and belonged to the 'Illyrian' branch of the Indo-European race. In the south and on the fertile coast of the Bay of Naples Greek colonists had set foot. In what is now Tuscany the Etruscans had been settled since the ninth century B.C.

The remainder of the peninsula had for some centuries been occupied by successive waves of what for convenience we call 'Italic' invaders. These invaders, who came, in all probability, from the Danube region, spoke a group of dialects which, while akin to Greek, also show some marked resemblances to the Celtic tongues. Of these dialects the most marked and the best known to us are (besides Latin) the Umbrian, spoken in the upper valley of the Tiber and the adjacent regions, and the Oscan, prevailing in the southern half of the peninsula. From both of these the Latin speech differed more than either of them did from the other.

In what quarter was there to be found a power capable of unifying this congeries of peoples?

War the Latin's normal occupation

It would be natural to seek the unifying force in the Etruscans, who came to Italy as the bearers of a higher material civilization; but they were afflicted with the vice of disunion, and their League of Twelve Cities possessed no organ of central authority. But it was Etruscan rule which forged in Rome the instrument of future unification. When the age of Etruscan expansion began Latium was occupied by a number of communities of small individual importance, held together by the tie of a religious worship celebrated in honor of the sky god. This did not prevent them from regarding war as the normal relation between the various settle-

ments, which for security were perched on the heights isolated by erosion in the volcanic tableland.

A group of such heights on the left bank of the Tiber clustered about the Palatine hill, which the Romans regarded as the nucleus of their city. The primitive ceremony of the Lupercalia kept alive the memory of its boundary; and the inclusion of other villages was commemorated in historical times by the Septimontium, or 'festival of the Seven Hills'—not, however, those with whose names we are familiar, but a group of sites confined within a smaller area. In the valleys between were huddled together the graves of the dead with their rude tomb furniture.

Hither came the Etruscans on their southward march towards the fertile soils of Latium and Campania. Rome became their bridge-head on the Tiber, and the Tarquinii, who probably established their power early in the sixth century B.C., developed the cluster of villages into a prosperous city.

The soil of Rome has not yielded such rich treasures as some Etruscan sites, or others such as Praeneste (Palestrina) which, like Rome, fell under Etruscan sway, but this may be explained by the fact that during centuries of occupation and rebuilding the richly furnished burial-vaults must have been rifled of their contents.

If the Etruscan rulers introduced the Romans to the higher material culture developed in the eastern Mediterranean, they also (which was of greater importance) laid the foundations of her dominance among the Latin tribes. It is significant that the treaty with Carthage which Polybius dates to the beginnings of the Republic distinguishes Latins 'subject to Rome' from those who are independent, and includes coast-towns as far distant as Antium and Terracina amongst the former, whiie the 'treaty of Cassius,' placed by tradition in 493 B.C., was made between Rome on the one part and the Latin League on the other. The net result, therefore, of Etruscan rule was to mark out Rome as the destined leader of that branch of the Italic race which from its central position in the peninsula, at the crossing of one of the few important water-ways with the main route from north to south, was fitted to play a chief part in moulding a specifically Italian civilization.

IMPRESSIVE REMNANTS OF THE FORMIDABLE WALLS OF KINGLY ROME

Tufa quarries on the Palatine, Capitoline and Aventine Hills furnished the material for the first walls of ancient Rome. They were built of square blocks, 2 feet high and from 4 to 6 feet long, and were originally about 40 feet high. Under Servius Tullius, Alban stone, a conglomerate of volcanic origin now called peperino, began to be used, being harder and weathering better. Part of the Servian wall as it still stands near the railway station is shown above.

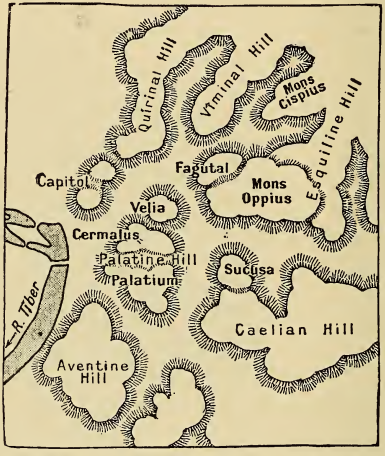
Photo Anderson

It is much more doubtful whether Rome owed a debt to her Etruscan kings in respect of her institutions. There is no trace of Etruscan in Roman constitutional terminology; and the most characteristic feature of the state religion, namely, the observation of the flight of birds ('auspicia') in order to ascertain the will of heaven, belongs to a different order of ideas from the examination of the entrails of sacrificial victims ('haruspicina') practised by the Etruscans.

An examination of the earliest Roman cult shows, in fact, that it preserved with

the utmost conservatism features inherited from the primitive ages of stone and bronze, and its calendar of festivals has nothing Etruscan about it. What the Etruscans did was to introduce the Romans to the anthropomorphic conceptions of Greek religion with their embodiment in art types. These they had themselves borrowed from the Greeks, and by transmitting them they initiated the long process by which the unseen powers known to the Italic stocks as 'numina' gave place to the Hellenic pantheon with its gorgeous ritual.

The foundation of the Roman Republic formed a landmark in the ebb of Etruscan power, which had begun with the repulse of their attack on Cumae in Campania by the Greek tyrant Aristodemus. This event is traditionally dated in 524 B.C.; and in 505 B.C. we find the Campanian forces under the same leader assisting in the liberation of Latium by defeating the son of Lars Porsenna at Aricia. During the century that followed, the decline of Etruria continued. Etruscan sea power never recovered from the defeat inflicted by Hieron of Syracuse in 474 B.C. on the allied fleets of Etruria and Carthage; and in the latter half of the century Capua, which the Etruscans had founded in the rich Campanian plain, fell before the Samnites.



ROME'S CONSTITUENT VILLAGES

Rome's original 'Seven Hills,' commemorated in the festival of the Septimontium, are not those which the city subsequently covered, but a group within a smaller compass, here distinguished by darker type. They were once probably the sites of distinct settlements.

Tribal struggle for existence

Meanwhile Rome and the Latins were waging a constant struggle against their neighbors on all sides. Sabines on the north, Aequi from the mountains on the east and Volscians from the chain of hills to the south of the Alban mount, were pressing forwards to the fertile coastland. Throughout the fifth century the tide ebbed and flowed. Tusculum fell into the hands of the Aequi; the Volscians took Velitrae, Ardea and the whole of the seacoast from Antium down to Terracina, which they renamed Anxur, and the legend of Coriolanus shows them at the gates of Rome.

But the Latins, with Rome at their head, fought on stubbornly and in the end successfully. The league displayed those powers of expansion and assimilation which Rome was afterwards to exhibit on a far greater scale; they posted their 'colonies' as outliers at well-chosen points of vantage—Signia, Velitrae, Norba and the like—and admitted to their alliance a kindred stock, the Hernici, who harassed the Aequi in the rear. Towards the close of the century these latter were finally driven back to their hill-fastnesses, and in 406 B.C., if the traditional date be correct, the coast-line was finally secured by the recapture of Anxur-Terracina.

To the north Rome had her special problem with which to deal. The regions on the right bank of the Tiber above Rome had fallen under Etruscan domination. About twelve miles north of Rome was the strongly fortified city of Veii, which, though not lying on the main stream but on a small tributary, the Cremera, controlled the bridge-head at

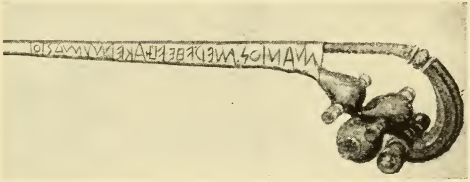
Fidenae, a Latin town on the left bank, and through it an alternative route from north to south. Under Etruscan rule Veii rivalled Rome in all material respects. The rulers of the Roman Republic soon realized that there was no room for two powerful cities in the lower Tiber valley, and a long and bitter struggle ensued. Ultimately Veii fell in 396 B.C., after a ten years' siege.

This decisive success opened the way for a further advance. Falerii and Capena fell under Roman control, and Rome's northern boundary was advanced to the natural limit in southern Etruria set by the Ciminian forest. It was conclusively shown that the Etruscan League of cities lacked the cohesive force which might have enabled it to keep Rome at bay.

Sack of Rome by Gallic hordes

The advance of Rome was checked by a disaster which bulks large in her legendary history—the capture and sack of the city by a Gallic horde. The recorded details of the Celtic inroads are not to be trusted; but we may safely assign the beginnings of the movement to the latter part of the fifth century B.C. The Celtic tribes established themselves in the whole region between the Alps and the Po (except in the extreme north-east, where the Veneti retained their independence); then, crossing the river, occupied a strip of territory on the Adriatic coast, dispossessed the Etruscan and Umbrian settlers to the north of the Apennines and, crossing the main chain, descended on Etruria and the western coast-lands. One of their hordes met and defeated the Roman army on the banks of the Allia; the city was stormed and sacked, and though the Capitol proved impregnable and withstood a seven months' siege, the withdrawal of the besiegers was only purchased at the price of 1,000 pounds of gold.

Rome's recovery from this blow was a triumph of tenacity and statesmanship. Her old enemies, the Aequi and Volsci on the one hand, the Etruscan cities on the other, once more raised their heads, and Rome had to fight on all fronts. Rome withstood all onslaughts; southern Etruria was secured by the establishment of 'Latin' colonies at Sutrium and Nepet; the Volscians were held in check by similar foundations at Satricum and Setia, and on the coastal strip between their hills and the sea two fresh 'tribes' were set up—Publilia and Pomptina—and Roman citizens settled on the land; and the leadership of the Latins was retained. Further Gallic raids were repulsed, and Rome (having renewed the Latin alliance in 358 B.C.) made treaties with the Samnites of central Italy in 354 B.C. and with Carthage in 348 B.C.



ETRUSCAN BROOCH FOR ROMAN WEAR

This gold fibula, found at Praeneste, is probably of Etruscan workmanship. It carries the oldest Latin inscription on metal. As on the stele shown in page 1614 the letters are Greek in form, and their retrograde order and the use of FH for F ('fhefhaked'='fecit') point to the sixth century B.C.

From 'Römische' Mittheilung

The next step in Rome's progress is marked by an event of which the traditional account has met with much criticism in modern times. Since their expulsion of the Etruscans from Capua in the fifth century, the 'people of the plain' (Campani, as they came to be called) had enjoyed increasing prosperity which aroused the envy of the other branch of their stock, the Samnites proper, who in their turn descended from the mountains and endeavoured to subdue them. According to Livy they appealed to Rome for aid, and when this was at first declined on the ground of the treaty mentioned above, they solemnly made over their liberties and their territory to the Romans by an act of surrender ('deditio'), and the 'First Samnite War' followed, in which three campaigns sufficed

to check the advance of the mountaineers. Some modern historians regard the whole story as an invention. Others (though rightly sceptical about the 'deditio') look upon Rome's intervention in Campania as a master-stroke of policy intended to secure a backing in the inevitable settlement of accounts with the Latin allies. Sure it is that these latter, alarmed by the growth and consolidation of Roman power, brought matters to a head in 340 B.C. by demanding, not merely a revision of the existing treaty, but (if the story be true) incorporation in the Roman state on terms of political equality, with the reservation of one of the consulships for themselves.

This was refused, and a war followed. The result was decisive, and in 338 B.C. Rome found herself undisputed mistress of the Latin and Campanian coast plains and the intervening hills, and by far the most considerable single power in Italy.

Privileges of the Latin League

The cities of the Latin League, including Rome, had enjoyed certain reciprocal rights in each other's territories. They could acquire and alienate landed and other property in any of the Latin communities and could sue and be sued in the local courts under the forms of law therein observed ('commercium'), and they could contract a marriage with a member of any Latin community, the issue of which would possess full rights ('conubium'). They could also change their domicile and become naturalised as full citizens in another Latin state if certain conditions were observed ('jus migrandi'). These rights were also enjoyed by the members of the Latin 'colonies' planted to secure extensions of Latin territory.

Rome now dissolved the ancient league for political purposes. The individual cities (unless otherwise dealt with) continued to enjoy the same reciprocal relations with herself as they had done in the past, but not with each other; and Rome found it convenient to utilise this status in the creation of fresh outposts which were still called 'Latin' colonies, although they were not founded by the old League. But several of the Latin cities in the regions nearest to Rome were directly incorporated into the Roman state, while at the same time retaining their old institutions for purposes of administration. To such towns the name of 'municipia' was given.

Latin Colonies and Municipalities

It was supplemented by the notion of graduated and probationary privilege. To some of the outlying cities there was granted the 'citizenship without the vote,' which meant that their inhabitants enjoyed all the civil rights of Roman citizens in the eye of the law, but could not exercise the suffrage in the Roman assemblies, nor, of course, hold public offices in Rome. These towns, of course, had their local governments, and after a certain lapse of time they were promoted to full 'municipal' status. A new experiment was tried which also had a great future—the dispatch of 'colonies of Roman citizens' which in the first instance served as garrisons to hold the more important harbors.

Naturally Rome continued to form alliances with varying degrees of closeness with the communities beyond her new borders.

The application of the Roman civil law to the needs of the largely increased number of citizens or half-citizens living at a distance from Rome soon called into being a class of officials known as 'praefecti,' some appointed as delegates by the magistrates of Rome, others elected by the people; and as Rome's sphere of influence in Italy widened, assize-towns ('praefecturae') were set up as seats of Roman justice. In these and other ways Rome built up a framework into which new elements could easily be fitted, while the superiority of her institutions and especially of her laws to those of the more backward peoples of the peninsula exerted a powerful centripetal force.

But there was still hard fighting to be done. Rome secured herself as far as might be against attack from the north by making a treaty with the Gauls in 334 B.C., possibly because she foresaw the inevitable clash with the Samnites.

The conflict between Rome and Samnium began in 327 B.C. The first phase lasted until 304 B.C.; its most dramatic episode was that of the capitulation of the main Roman army at the Caudine Forks (321 B.C.) and the signature of a peace which was repudiated by the Senate and people; but it deserves less notice

than the persistency with which Rome pursued her end by a judicious combination of policy and force. As she had held Latium in a vice by bringing Campania under her influence, so she sought a foothold against Samnium on the Adriatic coast, where the Apulians became her allies and enabled her to establish a 'Latin' colony at Luceria which was a thorn in the side of Samnium. In order to keep her communications open, and at the same time to cut off the Samnites from northern Italy it was essential to secure the neutrality, if not the active assistance, of the 'Sabellian' tribes of the center, and in this she was successful.

Thus when the tide turned against the Samnites and they invoked the aid of the Etruscan cities in 311 B.C., the intervention came too late; the Roman armies crossed the Ciminian forest and won a series of victories which put an end to all danger from the north. Finally some of the central Italian peoples took alarm; the Hernici, amongst the earliest allies of Rome, revolted and were reduced to submission; the Aequi disappear from history after a last campaign, and in 304 B.C. the Samnites sued for peace and obtained it. But the fact that they re-entered the Roman alliance on the old terms makes it clear that the war of attrition had exhausted both parties, and that the struggle would soon be resumed.

Rome had gained allies in Campania, and she secured the valuable friendship of the Frentani, the eastern-most of the 'Sabellian' tribes, whose territory extended to the Adriatic and bordered Samnium on the north. A series of 'Latin' colonies was founded. The encirclement of Samnium was well nigh complete. Nor should we forget that the laying out of the Appian Way, the first of the great military highways which were to spread like a network wherever the Roman armies planted foot, belongs to the critical period of the war.

In 299 B.C. a fresh swarm of Gauls crossed the Alps, and in conjunction with Etruscans raided Roman territory with some success. The news of this seems to have tempted the Samnites to make a desperate bid for release from the inexorable pressure of Rome, and they picked a quarrel over Rome's relations with the Lucanians to the south of Samnium. Rome took up the challenge promptly. But a coalition was formed in northern Italy, comprising Gauls, Etruscans and Umbrians, joined by a Samnite force, and a critical struggle followed, which was decided in Rome's favor by the great victory of Sentinum (295 B.C.). For the time being the northern boundary was secure, and Rome gradually got the better of the obstinate resistance of the Samnites.

The Samnites were confined to their fastnesses, and Rome took a further step on the path towards Italian unification. Central Italy was secured, partly by alliances with the Sabellian tribes which had not attained to city life, and partly by the incorporation of the Sabines into the Roman state as 'citizens without the vote' in 290 B.C. (they received full rights twenty-two years later). Thus when the Gallic tribe of the Senones, who occupied a strip of the Adriatic coast-line, made a raid into Etruria in 285 B.C., they were soon defeated and a further onslaught by another Gallic stock, the Boii, was crushed at Lake Vadimo in the following year.

There remained the question of southern Italy, where the Greek cities, whose natural leader was Tarentum, were confronted with the Italic stocks of the Lucanians and Bruttii, against whom they maintained their independence with great difficulty. In 282 B.C. Thurii, menaced by the Lucanians, appealed to Rome for aid. The relations of Rome with the Greek world had long been friendly. She was now called upon to make a momentous decision, since it must have been evident to far-seeing politicans that her intervention would inevitably lead to the extension of her sphere of political influence to the bounds of the peninsula.

Matters moved rapidly. Thurii was relieved, and other Greek towns received Roman garrisons; but Rome became embroiled with Tarentum, and as the Roman forces gained the upper hand, the Tarentines called in the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. He no doubt cherished the notion of bringing southern Italy and Sicily under his protection and building up a monarchy which should rank with those of Macedon, Syria and Egypt. Italy was thus drawn into the orbit of Mediterranean politics, and Rome, as her leading power, was forced to take up the challenge.

We are not here concerned with the details of this famous war. What we should note is that Carthage approached

Rome with proposals for a treaty of mutual guarantee, which were accepted. Both parties pledged themselves not to make a separate peace with Pyrrhus; but each was jealous of its own sphere of interest, and neither was anxious to see the armed forces of the other in occupation of its territories. Hence Rome politely declined the aid of a Punic fleet which cruised off the coast of Latium, nor did Carthage seek her aid when Pyrrhus invaded Sicily, and with his accustomed dash carried all before him in his first campaign. He wasted three invaluable years in his effort to subdue the island, and by the time he returned to Italy Rome had strengthened her position in the south. In 275 B.C. he fought his last battle with Rome near Beneventum, was decisively defeated, threw up the game and retired.

All that remained was to gain possession of Tarentum, which was held for Pyrrhus by an Epirote garrison. The city was besieged by a Roman army and blockaded by a Carthaginian fleet. Carthage would no doubt have preferred to secure some independence for Tarentum rather than see it become a Roman fortress. But Pyrrhus's commandant made his bargain with Rome and placed the key of southern Italy in Roman hands in 272 B.C.

In the years that followed only a few minor operations were needed to consolidate the Italian federation; Rome was now acknowledged as a great power; and only four years later she became involved in the struggle with Carthage which was to end in the establishment of her predominance in the western Mediterranean.

This lies beyond our present scope; but before the march of events brought Hannibal into Italy we have to record the completion of the Roman tribe-system in 241 B.C. by the incorporation of the Picentes in a new tribe named Velina with full rights, and that of the Sabines, now fully Romanised, in another (Quirina), and the liquidation of the question of Cisalpine Gaul. The period of peace in this region which began in 284 B.C. was broken in 238 B.C. by a further irruptinon of Transalpine Gauls. A few years later a far more serious menace developed, which Polybius brings into connection with a measure proposed by the democratic leader, Gaius Flaminius, in 232 B.C. The strip of coast-land from which, as we saw. Rome had expelled the Senones was parcelled out into lots and assigned to Roman citizens, and this, says the Greek historian, alarmed the Gauls living in the Po valley, notably the Insubres (in the neighborhood of Milan) and the Boii, who occupied the modern Romagna and had founded Bononia (modern Bologna) on the site of the Etruscan city of Felsina. They secured the aid of a large contingent from beyond the Alps, and invaded Etruria.

This time the Romans were not content with repelling the invader. Their armies crossed the Po, reduced the Boii to submission in 224 B.C., the Insubres two years later and the defeated peoples became tributary to Rome. The other principal Celtic tribe in this region was that the Cenomani, who had taken no part in the raid, and became allies of Rome, as well as the non-Celtic Veneti, and when Hannibal crossed the Alps in 218 B.C. the Roman confederation embraced the whole of the peninsula.

Polybius incorporates in his account of the last Gallic war an official document giving the contingents furnished by Rome and her allies, as well as the total number of those liable for military service, which he estimates at 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse. The totals may be accepted as approximately correct. The Roman citizens and half-citizens accounted for 250,000 foot and 23,000 horse, so that there was a very considerable preponderance of non-Romans in the armies of the federation.

Such was the power which Hannibal challenged with striking forces that consisted of 50,000 foot and 9,000 horse. We have traced the various stages of the process by which it was built up, and may now review the elements of which it consisted. The nucleus, of course, was formed by the citizens of Rome, whether in enjoyment of full privileges or restricted to the private rights of the 'jus civile.' This body included far more than the original Latin stock. The territories which it occupied formed a block extending on the west coast of Italy from Graviscae on the Etruscan seaboard to Cumae, which marched with Neapolis, including the rich lands of southern Etruria, Latium and Campania, together with the hilly regions once occupied by the Volsci, to which had been added a broad central strip of mountainous Sabine territory forming a

bridge between the upper Tiber valley and the Adriatic slope, with the valleys and coast-line from the neighborhood of Ariminum down to that of Hadria (Atri), both Latin colonies.

This band of citizen-territory gave Rome a firm hold on the center of the peninsula. It contained only a few enclaves of non-Roman territory, notably that of the two ancient allies of Rome, Tibur and Praeneste; but its population was far from homogeneous. The expansion of the Latin population had been provided for by the settlement of lands acquired by conquest and formed into 'tribe' districts—in southern Etruria, where Veii once stood, in southern Latium and part of the Volscian territories, in the 'Falernian land' bordering on Capuan territory to the north, on the upper Anio beyond Tibur, and in the 'Gallic land' south of Ariminum. There were also ten or more garrison towns on the coast-line in the shape of citizen colonies. But Caere was inhabited by Etruscans, Arpinum and the neighboring districts by Volscians, the Sabine hills and the coast of Picenum by the old Italic stocks which gave their name to those regions, and Campania by the Oscans, who retained their language, constitution and customs. All these were in process of Romanization, but the strength of their attachment to Rome was yet to be tried in the furnace of the Punic invasion, and in Capua it was unequal to the strain.

Next in order we may take the 'Latin' colonies, which were in form independent and sovereign communities bound to Rome by treaty, but were in reality outposts of Roman life and centers from which Roman influences radiated. They had constitutions which conformed closely to the Roman type; and in their private transactions with Rome their citizens were governed by the civil law.

The sites of the later colonies were admirably chosen from the military point of view. A quadrilateral formed by Aesernia, Luceria, Beneventum and Venusia kept the Samnites and their nearest kinsmen, the Hirpini, under vigilant control. Paestum on the west stood guard over the Lucanians. Brundusium (Brindisi) in the south-east (besides its importance as the port of embarkation for the eastern Mediterranean) was well placed to keep watch on Tarentum. Cremona and Placentia faced the Celtic tribes, whose loyalty was more than doubtful.

Outside the circle of privileged communities stood the rank and file of Rome's allies, each bound to her by its own treaty. The terms of these instruments varied according to circumstances. In the Greek world it was customary for cities to form alliances for a term of years but the Romans preferred to make treaties stipulating for mutual assistance in war 'for all time,' and this became the stereotyped form in the Italian federation. But within this framework Rome found room for a graduation of privilege. It was given to few to possess a 'treaty of equality' ('foedus aequum') with the great power; such were the two ancient Latin cities of Tibur and Praeneste, Neapolis and some of the Greek towns in southern Italy, notably Heraclea. In the bulk of the treaties Rome's position as the predominant partner was explicitly recognized.

The contracting parties, again, were of various types—city states, leagues of towns or tribes, or cantonal communities which had not attained to the urban stage of civilization. In this respect Italy presented a chequered picture at the coming of Hannibal. Rome herself was essentially a city state, and was long in finding the path to a higher form of community; but she did little (except by the example of her colony foundations) to promote the extension of urban life. Town life in non-Roman Italy was mainly developed in such regions as Etruria, Umbria, Campania and the Greek cities of the southern coasts (to which we may add the isolated Greek community of Ancona, in the north-west). On the Adriatic slope and its adjacent plains in the south-west allied towns of importance were far apart, Arpi and Canusium in Apulia being among the most noteworthy. These districts were in the possession of tribes akin to the Illyrian folk beyond the Adriatic, who would have fallen under the domination of the Samnite and Lucanian mountaineers had these not succumbed to Rome.

Of the tribal organizations whom Rome admitted to her alliance, the Gallic cantons in the north were regarded as being on a lower plane of civilization than their southern neighbors, and though the friendly relations of Rome with the Cenomani prove that she had no idea of excluding the Celts from the pale, the wonderful

story of the Romanization of the regions which are now Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetia was yet to be written. It was otherwise with the Ligurian tribes with whom Rome was brought into contact during the Gallic war. The list of triumphs registers three victories won at their expense in the decade 233-223 B.C.; but for the time being the object aimed at was no more than to secure the coast and the passes over the Apennines.

EVIDENCE OF ROME'S GROWING POWER AND COMMERCE

Roman coinage was instituted about 338 B.C. when a mint was set up at Capua, where coins were struck in the name of Rome. These included silver didrachms and litrae, and bronze unciae and other bronze tokens. The designs were various, but all the earlier Campanian coins bore the word 'Romano' on the obverse.

British Museum; from Hill, 'Historical Roman Coins'

Among the branches of the Italic stock which retained their tribal organization we should distinguish the hardy peasant democracies of the Abruzzi—Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani—which had no far-reaching ambitions and were respected and conciliated by Rome, from the larger and more aggressive aggregates such as the Samnites and Lucanians. In the 'toe' of the Italian peninsula the Bruttii formed a loose confederation of this sort; they are said to have entered into some form of alliance with Rome after the submission of Tarentum, but there seems to have been little interference with their affairs, and they continued to strike coins when this privilege was denied to the other confederates; but they were a backward people, and were late in submitting to civilizing influences. Of the 'Illyrian' tribes in the 'heel' little need be said. Greek influences had prepared them to take their place with the more civilized stocks.

To those who seek the causes of Rome's rise to greatness the preceding narrative will have furnished indications of the answer to their question; but some recapitulation is needed in order to give the true historical perspective.

It is no doubt true that Rome was a natural and defensible bridge-head, and as such was occupied by the Etruscans; and it is also true that her central position gave her a strategical advantage in that she could act on interior lines against her enemies, if a combined attack were made upon her. But she was hardly better placed for trade than, say, Caere or Capua; and it was rather the genius of her people to which her rise to greatness was due. She was throughout not the slave but the mistress of circumstances.

Throughout her history, she was (in the Latin phrase) 'faber fortunae suae'—

the artificer of her own fortune. The Etruscan princes made her no mean city, brought her into touch with the more advanced culture of the East, and established her military power. But her inhabitants came of a stock which could not, like the primitive population of Etruria, remain in serfdom under a ruling minority of alien race. They threw off the yoke, having learnt what was needed to make them the leaders of their own Latin race. Having attained to that position, the Romans entered into close relations with that branch of the Italic stock—the Campanians—which had progressed further than the rest in the same direction as themselves and was in close touch with Greek culture. They knew what to take and what to give. When the growth of commerce made it necessary to have a silver coinage, they set up a mint in Capua where coins were struck in the name of Rome, but in a style derived from Greece. On the other hand, they could afford protection by their military strength to the plainsmen against the mountaineers.

Then came the contest with Samnium, in which the Romans recognized a vital issue.

The victory of Rome in this contest brought her directly into contact with the Greeks. From the Greek cities she had nothing to fear. With post-Alexandrian monarchy, however, as personified in Pyrrhus, a fight to a finish was once again necessary, and was carried through. Rome was now a world power. There is no need to repeat what was said above of her policy and diplomacy; but her sound business sense may be illustrated by the fact that one of her first steps after the war was to set up the 'denarius' as the standard coin of Italy.

The Roman had no genius for science, or art, or religion. In all these spheres individual brilliance is responsible for the most memorable achievements: and the Roman was not individually brilliant. The great deeds of the Romans were done by average men. But these average men were capable of intense practical concentration; and concentration effects what genius cannot compass, if indeed it be not itself, in the wider sense, genius.

THE CARTHAGINIANS AND THEIR MARITIME EMPIRE

LIFE IN THE POWERFUL MERCHANT CITY OF NORTH AFRICA THAT FOUGHT WITH ROME FOR THE MASTERY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

F. N. PRYCE

Assistant Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum

OUR knowledge of the Carthaginians and their civilization comes to us through channels which can only be described as thoroughly unsatisfactory. We are dependent on stray paragraphs by Greek or Roman historians utterly hostile in sentiment to Carthage. We can see that there must have been another side to their story but the material for reconstructing this other side of the great rivalry is entirely lacking.

When we pass from written history to the remains of Carthaginian civilization, to the results of exploration and the objects preserved in our museums, we find the position equally unsatisfactory. It is often remarked that no nation has left behind so little trace of its existence as the Phoenician, a fact easily understood when we consider their existence as a people.

Their native country was a narrow strip of the coast of Syria, hemmed in between the Lebanon and the sea. Impelled probably by sheer pressure of overcrowding in their cramped homeland, they sought to gain a livelihood by trading with less advanced peoples, settling for that purpose in conveniently placed little islands or peninsulas, where they provoked less jealousy than if they had chosen sites on the mainland, and where they could defend themselves more advantageously. They could fight, and fight stubbornly, if driven to the wall, but they were as a nation too conscious of their numerical inferiority to court war.

Add to this that they lacked the ability or the opportunity to produce a distinctive national art, but were content with commercial reproductions of the styles and ornaments fashionable among their more powerful neighbors, and we need not wonder that they have left few remains behind them.

With the Phoenicians of the western half of the Mediterranean, the Carthaginians who are the object of our study, the case is somewhat different. Their settlements were placed among poor and savage nations, farther removed from their worst competitors, the Greeks. Carthage itself, owing to its favored situation at one of the key points of Mediterranean commerce, grew to unusual size and prosperity, and was thus enabled to assume a measure of control over its sister cities and to unite their resources into a loose confederacy.

The settlements thus had a stable existence of some centuries, and the result is that a much larger amount of material has been recovered from them by excavation than from Phoenician sites in the east. Yet if the material is more abundant, it is thoroughly disappointing. A single Egyptian or Etruscan tomb can throw a flood of light upon its age; we can dig up an entire Carthaginian cemetery and find nothing but a mass of coarse factory-made products from which we can glean little information.

It is not even certain at what point in her long history her prime is to be placed. But it is probable that Carthage was never so rich and so prosperous as in the century preceding her downfall; and our description will refer to the period of the Punic Wars and to the city of half a century before and after 200 B.C. In its early days the city looked to Egypt for its fashions and culture, but at the age we have chosen Greek civilization was supreme throughout the Mediterranean; and the Phoenician capital was permeated with Greek art and manners.

On a promontory at the northwest angle of the Bay of Tunis, are the white villas of modern Carthage, a rapidly growing suburb of the city of Tunis, and among these the tourist is shown the ruins of Roman Carthage, for centuries one of the most important cities of the Mediterranean, headquarters of a Roman proconsul, metropolis of Christian Africa and capitol of the independent kingdom of the Vandals. But where is the older Carthage, the city of Hannibal, the rival of Rome and the mistress of the Western Seas?

Guide-books unhesitatingly reply that the older Carthage covered the same site as the Roman city. The Hill of St. Louis, where now stands the Cathedral, must have been the Citadel, the "Byrsa," where in 146 B.C. the Carthaginians made their last stand. Various masses of ruins have from time to time been identified as belonging to the older city and its walls, and the most striking objects of all are two pools near the sea; one is round with an island in the center, the other oblong. These at once recall to us the famous naval and commercial harbors, which will be presently described, and are usually considered to identify the site beyond question.

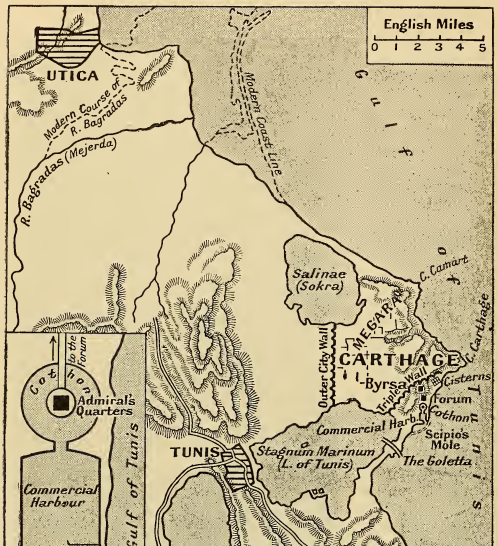
All this may be correct; but the ground has been fairly extensively explored during recent years, and the results have been disappointing. In the first place, the northern half of the site has been found to be crowded thick with Carthaginian cemeteries, a sound proof that the city could not have extended thus far. Secondly, the various remains assigned to the Carthaginian city have been argued or proved to be of Roman date; some authorities even deny that the two lagoons in any way represent the old harbors.

On the other hand, it may reasonably be argued that the absence of remains is precisely what is to be expected; are we not told that the Romans left no two stones of the city standing? And any

FINEST SURVIVALS OF CARTHAGINIAN CULTURE

This figure, from the lid of a sarcophagus that contained the remains of a priestess, is the finest extant representation of the Carthaginian Tanit-Astarte. The goddess—or priestess in the guise of the goddess—wears a long tunic, a scarf of gold-edged material over her shoulders, vulture's wings folded round her body and the vulture head-dress of the Egyptian goddess Nebhat (Nephthys). The workmanship of this really beautiful figure is Greek.

From 'Musée Lavigerie,' E. Leroux, Paris



CARTHAGE AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD

At its zenith Carthage occupied the whole peninsula; a triple line of fortifications carried right across the isthmus defended it on the land side. The citadel and inner harbors were in the south-east corner. Utica, the older Phoenician settlement, lay fifteen miles to the north-west.

material lying about would have been used in building the Roman city, just as this in its turn formed the quarry from which Tunis was built. Add that Roman Carthage itself had a long and chequered history and that the burnt layers and foundations, in which some see traces of the Phoenician city, may equally well be of early Roman date, and it will be realized that the site is a thoroughly perplexing problem. Still, that the old city stood hereabouts, in close proximity to its cemeteries, is not disputed; and the first point to observe is that it was by no means so large a place as some historians suggest.

One ancient author informs us that before its destruction Carthage had a population of 700,000. Now, we have seen that the city could not have extended over the northern half of the Roman site; and it is calculated that its maximum area was not more than 550 acres and we must make a large deduction for the harbors, etc. Admitting that Carthage packed its population more tightly than the East End of London, a figure of about 150,000 seems the highest posible. The figure of 700,000 must include the population of the whole of the surrounding countryside.

The entire peninsula appears to have been surrounded by a wall which ran close to the sea. On the land side was a more elaborate fortification, the "Triple Walls," which probably consisted of a ditch with palisade, an outer wall and a larger main wall, 45 feet high with towers set at intervals of 60 yards. Within the thickness of the main wall was stabling for 400 war-elephants and above this another floor to hold 4,000 horses. Close at hand were barracks for the riders and for 20,000 infantry.

Where it came down to the city, the sea wall was set back from the water to leave space for a broad quay, the Choma; here the merchant vessels unloaded their cargoes and the caravans from the interior deposited their wares. But the pride of Carthage was the great artificial harbor excavated within the wall in the heart of the city, and approached by a channel only 70 feet wide which could be closed by a chain in time of war. This passage led to the Mercantile Harbor, a vast oblong 1,400 feet long and nearly 1,100 broad, surrounded by quays and warehouses. At the farther end another channel provided ingress to the inner harbor, the Cothon, which was reserved for ships of war.

This was of circular form, nearly 1,-

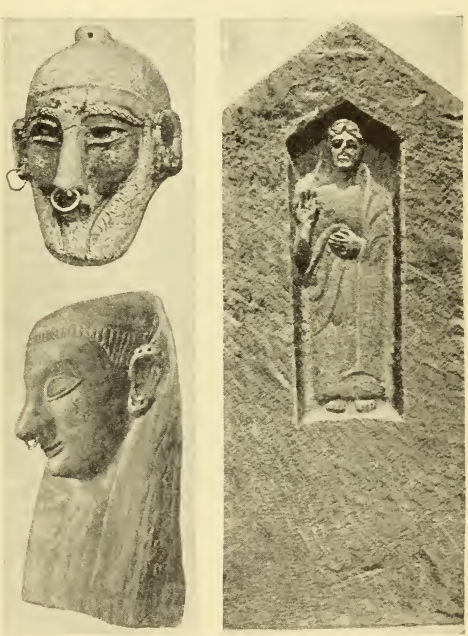
100 feet in diameter, and around it were docks to hold 220 warships; in front of each dock stood marble pillars of the Ionic order, so that the whole presented the appearance of a superb circular portico. In the center was an island on which stood the palace of the admiral, a lofty tower overtopping the city wall. Here the officer of the watch, with his trumpeter at hand to sound the alarm, could survey the busy movement of shipping.

Adjoining the Cothon was the market-place, a large square surrounded by colonnades in which public banquets were held. Arranged about the square were the law-courts and other state offices; and here also was a famous temple of Apollo, covered with plates of beaten gold.

All this reads very much like a Greek city of the period; the geometrical plan of the harbors, the grouping of the public buildings, all remind us of the Greek town planning prevalent after the time of Alexander the Great. The whole area must have been laid out some time in the third century B.C., probably by a Greek architect, certainly under Greek inspiration.

But behind this magnificent façade the inner part of the town remained purely Phoenician. Three streets led up to the citadel, streets so narrow that a plank could be thrown across from roof to roof. On either side stone houses rose six storeys or more in height—flat-roofed, sometimes with bay-windows closed by wooden lattices to catch the breeze. Within them men crowded like ants, often whole families in a single room, sleeping on the floor, their only household goods a few pots and pans, one or two boxes and a bundle of rugs.

In these narrow streets and the side-alleys the sun was shut out and the smells were kept in. Of all the various nations of antiquity only Rome and Crete showed any indications of a sense of sanitation, and Carthage was repeatedly swept by horrible plagues. A medley of all nations filled the ways—Carthaginians, Phoenicians from all parts of the Mediterranean, Berbers from North Africa, negroes from the Sudan, Egyptians, Spaniards, red-



CARTHAGINIAN FACIAL TYPES AND FASHIONS

Numerous terra-cotta objects found on the site of Carthage, though of rough workmanship, are valuable illustrations of facial types and of costumes. These specimens show (above) the masculine mode of wearing the beard long while shaving the upper lip, and (below) the curtain-veiled head-dress affected by women; also the ugly fashion adopted by both sexes of wearing a nose ring. The figure on the right shows the long, full robe worn by women of the middle class.

From 'Musée Lavigerie' and 'Musée Alaoui,' E. Leroux, Paris

haired Gauls. Greeks were numerous, and the Greek language was widely used; there was a colony of Italians who were massacred by the infuriated populace at the outbreak of the Third Punic War.

PRINCE OF A FAR-FLUNG MARITIME EMPIRE

Wealthy Carthaginians were embalmed after death and laid in stone or marble sarcophagi, often bearing on the lid a figure of the deceased person.

From 'Musée Lavigerie,' E. Leroux, Paris

Carthaginians wore their hair short and their beards long and often pointed; the upper lip was not infrequently shaved. Men's dress consisted of shoes or sandals, a conical cap not unlike the modern fez, or more rarely a turban, and a long, loose gown with sleeves. Men and women alike were addicted to the use of perfumes, and both sexes had a passion for jewelry.

Women wore a long gown and a veil over the head; the richer classes dressed in the Greek style. We hear little about the women, which suggests that, in Oriental fashion, they were confined to the harem. Husbands do not appear to have associated with their wives in religious worship. On the other hand, women of high family filled important offices in the priesthood.

Whether polygamy was permitted or not is unknown, but it must have been very rare, to judge by the number of tombs containing the remains of husband and wife. The sentiment of family was strongly felt; men loved to enumerate their ancestors on inscriptions.

The language is akin to the Hebrew and was written in the Phoenician script without vowels or division between the words. Many inscriptions have been found, but unfortunately most of them contain little more than proper names or ritual formulas. The Carthaginians were fond of recording events, and there is evidence that they had some kind of a literature and libraries; but all has perished, save an account of a voyage to tropical Africa and part of an encyclopedia of farming, which are known to us in translations. The language long survived the city and died out only when the Mahomedan invaders introduced a kindred speech, Arabic, the tongue of the land today.

The streets were bordered by open shops. All the varied needs of a great city called to be supplied, and we need not doubt that the various trades were grouped together in bazaars after the time-immemorial custom of the Orient. Yet, to judge from extant remains, we cannot rank the Carthaginian craftsman at a high level.

Above the streets rose the Byrsa, the Citadel, enclosed by great walls, the strongest point of the whole city. Here were the Treasury and the Mint, and on the highest point in the midst of colonnades rose the splendid temple of Eshmun, which must have towered over the city as the Parthenon over Athens. Other temples abounded, many of them dedicated to foreign gods, for the Carthaginians were not intolerant.

Not to the strange gods in their stately temples, but to the old nature deities

brought from Phoenicia, in tiny shrines and holy places, the Carthaginians paid their reverence. The shrines are small, plain rectangular enclosures, containing no statue or idol but crowded thick with upright stone slabs, like tombstones, dedicated to the deity. Such is the normal Phoenician place of worship.

Carthaginian religion is a complicated study in detail owing to the foreign ideas and deities which were freely grafted upon it in the course of centuries, but the main lines are clear. The Carthaginians brought from Phoenicia the old dual worship of which traces are found everywhere—the male and female principles of Nature, the sun and moon in Heaven. Baal-Moloch and Astarte were the Phoenician names for these powers, but throughout the Carthaginian sphere they were reverenced under the names of Baal-Haman and Tanit-Pene-Baal, "Tanit who is the Face of Baal"; and it is a curious point that, while everywhere else the sun god had the precedence, in the city of Carthage itself the moon goddess, Tanit-Pene-Baal, took the first place. Her symbol is found again and again—a circle above a triangle, with a bar between, it is supposed to depict the moon on an altar.

The Carthaginian type of Astarte is best illustrated from a figure on the lid of a sarcophagus found a few years ago. She stands richly robed in red, blue, pink and gold; in her hands a dove and an incense box; two great vulture wings fold round her body, and on her head is the vulture head-dress of the Egyptian goddess Nephthys; an Egyptian veil falls down on each shoulder. Egyptian in the dress, Greek in the workmanship and in the sweet dignity of expression, this monument might serve as a type of the mixed character of Carthaginian civilization; it is the finest thing Carthage has handed down to us.

Second to Tanit-Pene-Baal in Carthage, but supreme elsewhere in the Carthaginian empire, came the sun god, Baal-Haman; the name is variously interpreted to mean either "Lord of Heat" or more probably "Lord of the Stone Pillars," a signification which takes us back to a very primitive stratum of religious thought, as when Jacob set up a stone and called it Beth-el, the House of God. Some small terra-cotta statuettes are commonly thought to represent him; they show a heavily bearded, heavily robed man with ram's horns projecting from his head.

But the worship of Nature powers is ever prone to sink into degradation and immorality, and at Carthage it appeared in sombre colors. Tanit was not only the goddess of wedded love and of motherhood, who gave increase to the flocks

GOD WHO DELIGHTED IN HUMAN SACRIFICE

Although supreme elsewhere in the Carthaginian empire, Baal-Haman ranked second to Tanit in Carthage itself. He was a blend of the original sun god and the African deity Ammon, known in Egypt as Amen-Ra. Baal-Haman was figured as a bearded man in the prime of life seated on a stately throne.

From Perrot et Chipiez, 'L'art en Phénicie' and 'Musée Lavigerie,' E. Leroux, Paris

and harvest to the field; she was patroness of all the "abominations of the Sidonians" that are so fiercely denounced in the Old Testament. Baal-Haman the Romans aptly compared to Father Time, who devoured his own children, for to him was given the horrid tribute of first-born infants. In times of danger two

or three hundred, chosen from the noblest families, would be sacrificed in a day.

Priests, divided into numerous grades, formed an extensive section of the population; the office, in some cases at least, descended from father to son, but we are not certain that there was a special priestly class, like the Levites. Women were freely admitted for the cults of the female deities. The portraits of several priests are known from sarcophagi—bearded men in long robes, with a stole over the left shoulder, generally holding

GRIM RELICS IN CARTHAGINIAN CINERARY URNS

The predominant type of cinerary urn unearthed in the precinct of Tanit was the clay amphora with ovid body, outsplayed neck and clay stopper. In some of the urns calcined bones of little children were found, most probably the remains of infants 'passed through the fire' as living human sacrifices to the awful Baal-Haman.

Photos, Kuhn de Prorok and Kelsey, 'Excavations at Carthage'

an incense box. Divination by omens was common, as with the Romans. Amulets and charms against the evil eye were worn on the person; in brief, the Carthaginians appear as a thoroughly superstitious people.

The Romans accused them of cheating their gods, of not fulfilling the vows they made in the hope of winning favor; but the Romans themselves were not altogether guiltless of this practice, and every Carthaginian holy place so far known is crowded with votive offerings to the gods.

At the same time, it must be said that the objects dedicated show neither beauty of design nor costliness of material. They are pieces of limestone, sometimes in the form of an altar, more often resembling a tombstone; carelessly carved on the front are a few divine symbols and a few words of inscription.

The customs observed in disposing of the dead varied at different times; cremation was at one period in favor, but inhumation was the more usual practice. Young children were never burnt, but buried in clay pots packed tightly together a few inches underground. The graves of adults were usually deep trenches, but a more elaborate form, derived from Egypt, is also found, consisting of a deep shaft at the bottom of which opens a vault. Coffins were in common use; the rich were embalmed in a resinous liquid and placed in stone or marble sarcophagi; another style, found more commonly in the Eastern Mediterranean, imitates the Egyptian coffin-lid.

With the body were buried various articles: some vases with food and drink, a lamp of the usual Phoenician type (a pinched-up saucer resembling a shell—the wick floated on the surface of the oil); toilet implements and sometimes jewelry; or a grotesque human mask of clay, to frighten away evil spirits. These objects indicate a belief in survival after death, but also illustrate the crass materialism of the Carthaginian mind.

Unlike the Egyptians or Etruscans, who placed the most beautiful vases, the most precious furniture, in the tomb of a loved one, they thought the coarsest earthenware, or tawdry, tinfoil jewelry, good enough to be buried with their dead.

A belt of cemeteries bordered the town, and beyond it the peninsula was covered with orchards, gardens and summer-houses. Farther out the mainland was set thick with little agricultural villages inhabited by Libyans. Here were the estates of the Carthaginian nobility; for while Carthage rose to wealth by commerce and honored it above all other ancient states, the upper classes in course of time tended to dissociate themselves from trade and to assume the characteristics of a landed gentry. They preferred to live away from the city in splendid villas the luxury of which astonished the invaders.

We could wish to have more details of these villas, but not one has survived,

and we can only suppose that they resembled in arrangement the villas of the Roman period which supplanted them—suites of rooms grouped round one or two courtyards with verandas, and perhaps a set of Turkish bathrooms, in the midst of fishponds and flower-gardens.

The whole countryside is described as consisting of a succession of orchards, vineyards, olive groves, vegetable gardens and cornfields. Nor was stock-breeding neglected. Asses and mules were the usual beasts of burden; the camel, so familiar nowadays, was not introduced until some centuries later. Another absentee was the pig, for the Carthaginians, tlement than the fact that for centuries true Semites, refused to eat pork.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the original nature of the Carthaginian set-Carthage was content humbly to pay rent to the native chieftains for the peninsula on which the city was built. But this policy was changed, probably about the fifth century B.C., and Carthage assumed the control of a wide area corresponding roughly to the modern kingdom of Tunis. Much of the land passed into the hands of the Carthaginian nobility, who cultivated it with slave labor; but the greater part was left to the original inhabitants, who were made liable to conscription in the armies and forced to pay heavy taxes.

Beyond this home country was the wider range of the Carthaginian empire. To the east of Carthage the coast was held to a point considerably east of Tripoli, and jealous watch was kept that the Greeks in Cyrenaica (Benghazi) did not advance farther west. West of the capital there was a string of settlements along the coast as far as the Strait of Gibraltar and beyond, down the Atlantic coast of Morocco. But the settlements were only trading stations, or stopping-places for ships.

The hinterland of Algeria was always independent under native Numidian princes, who were for long friendly allies of Carthage, but who in the end, under the famous Masinissa, turned against her and took from her the coast towns and much of the home territory. Farther west, in Morocco, Carthaginian authority was even more closely circumscribed by the walls of the settlements.

Outside Africa she held Malta, which was famous for its textile manufactories, and the other small islands about Sicily, of which she long possessed the northwest corner, and at times extended her control over the greater part of the island; but she never succeeded in reducing Syracuse. The Carthaginians were not unpopular in Sicily, and the captured Greek cities often tolerated their rule without reluctance, partly from jealousy of Syracuse, partly because Carthage was astute enough to behave with unusual leniency.

Some interesting discoveries have been made at Motya, the military base and headquarters of the Carthaginian administration until 397 B.C., when the Syracusans captured and destroyed the place. Here have been found arrowheads and other traces of the conflict when the town was stormed. At another point was a little harbor measuring fifty by thirty yards, cut into the land and lined with stone quays in imitation of the great harbors of Carthage.

In Sardinia, which offered a particularly suitable field for exploitation, Carthage accomplished what she had failed to do in Sicily and succeeded in keeping the Greeks out. But away from the coast Carthaginian authority was nil.

In the much smaller Balearic Islands a similar condition prevailed. Carthage had a few trading ports on the coast, but had little or no control over the interior. Corsica she left to the Etruscans, and on the Riviera coast she had been forestalled by the Greeks at Marseilles. In Spain, where Cadiz (Gades) was a very old Phoenician settlement, Carthage on the contrary contrived to close the southeast coast to Greek adventurers.

Between the First and Second Punic Wars Hamilcar and Hannibal widely extended the sphere of Carthaginian influence in Spain. But this was an ephemeral success, lost before the Second War was over; and away from the coast there are few traces in Spain of the presence of Carthaginians.

Such was the Carthaginian empire, this string of trading posts and refuges for shipping. Except Carthage itself, none of them ever controlled any extent of territory, and all were vastly inferior in size and population to the metropolis. Palermo at its surrender to the Romans had 25,000 inhabitants; in all there may

have been a dozen places of similar size. Most of the settlements were far smaller. Some were old Phoenician foundations, and these held a privileged position as "free and independent allies." Utica, on the mainland, is cited in official documents as an equal partner in the confederacy. Others were new colonies sent out from Carthage.

The subject cities had to pay tribute, to submit to conscription in time of need and to acquiesce in any limitation of trade with the foreigner that Carthage might impose. On the other hand, within the empire they enjoyed the same private rights as the Carthaginians. Most important of all, when menaced by danger, they could claim the protection of the central military and naval forces. In the management of their internal affairs they possessed a wide measure of independence, and in most of them the government was modeled upon that of Carthage itself.

Aristotle observed that "Carthage appears to be on the whole a well governed state," and praised its constitution for showing that due combination of the three principles of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy which he held essential to the stability of a state. Carthage was singularly free from the revolutions and tyrannies with which the history of Greek states is crowded. It is plain that Carthage had in course of time succeeded in evolving a system of government which was in no way inferior to that of her more civilized neighbors and which shows a remarkable resemblance to the Roman constitution.

At the head came the two Suffetes, or Judges who, like the Roman consuls were elected by the people from among the Senators and held office for a year. They convened and presided over the Senate. Originally they led the armies in battle, but with the growth of military science this duty was delegated to generals. Composed of the heads of the noble families, three hundred strong, the Senate deliberated all questions of public policy; but the decision on all vital matters lay with the assembly of the people in which all male citizens had the vote. The authority of the last-named body was, however, circumscribed; it could only accept or reject without power to amend a proposition put before it by the Senate. It elected the Suffetes and generals, but here again it had no right of nomination, simply choosing between the candidates submitted to it by the Senate which thus ensured the election of its men.

Such were the main outlines, but the reality was probably more complicated; we read of Councils of Thirty and of Ten, which may have been inner committees of the Senate; also of a Council of One Hundred, which was, at any rate, originally, concerned with the administration of justice.

NORA: A CHARACTERISTIC PHOENICIAN SITE

Nora, in Sardinia, furnishes a typical example of the site regarded as ideal by the Phoenicians—a small, easily fortifiable peninsula joined to the mainland by a low and narrow isthmus. In Phoenician times the whole peninsula was surrounded by a wall with watch towers, remains of which have been unearthed, together with foundations of a temple of Tanit and two cemeteries. Relics of the later Roman occupation include ruins of a theatre, an amphitheater and a watch tower.

From G. Patroni, 'Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei'

As was the case at Rome, the real power resided in the Senate. Membership of the Senate tended to become hereditary in certain families, but there was no definite division into castes or classes; any man who had acquired wealth could aspire to a place within the circle. Nor was there as much jealousy of strangers as in most ancient states; intermarriage with foreigners was common. At the same time, socially, if not legally, the upper classes tended to be definitely distinct in sympathy and interest from the bulk of the population, and violent ebullitions of party feeling were not uncommon. For instance, it is often supposed that the popular party supported Hannibal's war policy, while the aristocracy favored peace with Rome and throughout the Second War hampered or prevented the sending of reinforcements to him in Italy. Women and slaves had no political rights.

In time of peace a small permanent force was maintained in garrison in the capital and elsewhere; but this was only a police for the preservation of public order, and armies were mobilized on the outbreak of war and dismissed on the conclusion of peace. The result was that the beginning of hostilities almost inevitably brought defeat to Carthage.

We must not forget that the Carthaginian government regarded war from a purely commercial point of view. It was often better business to accept defeat than to persist in a long and expensive struggle; and hence disasters which would have broken the self-respect of any other nation left Carthage unperturbed. Only on the rare occasions when invaders penetrated into Africa did the nation bestir itself, and then it fought with fanatical fury; when there was no issue of life or death, but simply a question of extending or defending the empire, the government mobilized a reasonably adequate minimum of troops and sent them forth. If they failed, it wrote off the campaign as a bad speculation and made peace, venting its rage on the defeated general.

Carthaginian armies were not strong in number, but they contained excellent material, and were well organized. The personnel was of very varied character; probably almost every nation on earth was represented in the ranks, but we can broadly distinguish four main classes of troops.

The Carthaginians themselves were not subject to conscription, save in times of national peril, but generally supplied a force of volunteers, and most armies included a "Sacred Band" of young nobles who formed a richly equipped bodyguard for the general.

COINS OF CARTHAGE

Carthaginian coinage begins only in about 410 B.C. The types owe much to Syracusan coinage; but they are rough and debased, the top-right specimen here being quite exceptional. Horse, palmtree and heads of Persephone are prevalent designs.

British Museum

Second came the "subjects," drawn by conscription from the natives of the home territories, who supplied the bulk of the light infantry—slingers, javelin-men and archers. Third were the "allies," drawn from the cities and native principalities which in theory were independent of Carthage; these native tribes frequently

had to be bribed into sending contingents, and thus their troops would often be indistinguishable from the fourth class, the mercenaries, roving adventurers of every country who sold their swords for pay.

Sardinia and the Balearic Islands gave more light infantry, while from Algeria came the famous Libyan cavalry which Hannibal used with fatal effect. From Spain came Hannibal's infantry, wearing white tunics with purple borders, but no body armor, round shields and the short stabbing sword which the Roman legions later adopted.

Elephants in the Army

HANNIBAL also enrolled numbers of Gauls, who rushed into battle stripped to the waist, carrying long oval shields and long broadswords. An arm much employed in early wars was the war-chariot, but this had disappeared by the time of Hannibal, its place being taken by the elephants, which were protected by hanging plates and bore archers in towers on their backs.

As regards the navy, modern historians have noted that throughout the First Punic War Carthage was outnumbered by Rome in battle after battle, and it would appear that throughout the war the maximum naval force of Carthage was about 200 vessels. Seeing that there does not appear to have been any lack of material, we must explain this limitation as due to insufficiency of manpower; Carthage had not crews available for larger fleets.

However, there is no reason to doubt that Carthaginian seamen were individually superior to the Roman crews. They maintained the old traditional sea tactics, outrowing and outflanking the enemy and then striking home with the ram. The Romans recognized their inferiority in this maneuver and strove to replace skill by brute force; they aimed for a steady ten per cent superiority in numbers; they ordered their vessels to claw on to the Carthaginians, ship for ship, with grappling irons and drawbridges; and then their soldiers and their extra numbers gave them the victory.

The First Punic War came at an age of Dreadnought building; the "three-banked" ship of the sea empire of Athens had given place to vessels with five, seven, nine and even thirty or forty banks. These were long low vessels built for speed; they carried small masts and sails, but in action these were stowed and the ship then depended on the speed of its oars.

Very different from the swift war-galleys were the round-boats, the Carthaginian commercial ships. In these cargo capacity, not speed, was the object, and their lines were correspondingly broad and ample. They relied upon the wind, with perhaps a few sweeps to take them in or out of harbor in calms, and had a single mast, with a huge square sail. They were often of considerable size, capable of holding several hundred tons of cargo. In such craft the Carthaginians lumbered at four or five knots from port to port along the Mediterranean and out into the Atlantic. They were no fair-weather sailors, but put out at all times and were not afraid to lose sight of land and make for the open sea.

Phoenician exploration and trade in the Atlantic afford a fascinating subject to the imagination. For about a hundred years the Greeks obtained a share of it by forming an alliance with Arganthonius, the native King of Tarshish, or Tartessus, at the southern extremity of Spain; but before 500 B.C. Carthage conquered Tartessus and barred the way to the Greeks, and henceforward for three hundred years monopolized the trade until she lost Spain at the end of the Second Punic War.

We possess little definite information about the Atlantic trade. It was in the main a quest for metals—gold from tropical Africa, silver from Spain, tin from Spain, Brittany and Cornwall; and tin was probably the most important item, as bronze, of which it is a necessary ingredient, played a larger part in ancient life than nowadays. There is a legend that a Phoenician ship once circumnavigated the African continent. The existence of the Canary Islands and Madeira was vaguely known.

On these barbarian shores trade was carried on by barter with infinite precautions against surprise or treachery. The Carthaginians would land on some empty beach, set out their wares—glass beads, colored ribbons and the like—light a signal fire and retire to their

ships. Under cover of night the natives would approach and set opposite what they had to offer—gold dust or ivory—and then retire in their turn. Next morning the Carthaginians would return; if the exchange proposed was satisfactory, they took it and sailed away; if not, they returned again to their ships and waited another twenty-four hours, and the next night the natives added more gold dust; and thus the bargain was eventually struck. Throughout the whole transaction scrupulous honesty was observed, but neither side saw or spoke with the other.

It is a commonplace that commercial intercourse on any scale demands some medium of intercourse. By the sixth century B.C. the trading cities of Greece all possessed a coinage for this purpose. But Carthage never coined money till the very end of the fifth century, when some poor imitations of coins of Syracuse were struck to pay the mercenaries during a campaign in Sicily. Later the coinage grew terribly debased and must have offered endless problems of exchange. Further, no definite system of weights and measures was ever adopted, but several standards were in use simultaneously. On the other hand, Carthage must be credited with the invention of the bank-note; pieces of leather stamped with values circulated throughout the empire.

The Carthaginians were cordially disliked by their contemporaries. To the end they remained hucksters, intent on personal gain, careless or incapable of winning the good will of their subjects. Yet Rome's own record of imperial administration for two hundred years to come was to be as black as anything that can be said of Carthage, and in the evolution of civic government Carthage was not inferior to any of her contemporaries. For the long wars that led to her ruin Roman greed and ambition must be held responsible; and her final destruction was an unnecessary crime.

PATRICIANS AND PLEBS: ROME'S WARRING FACTIONS

A PHASE OF THE GRADUAL SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT WHEREBY THE CITY ON THE TIBER CONSOLIDATED HER POWER

By H. STUART-JONES, D.Litt.

Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1927-34; late Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford; Author of Classical Rome, etc.

In the early history of Rome the 'strife of the orders,' as it is called, plays a large part. The fathers ('patres') on the one hand, the multitude ('plebs') on the other, are represented as waging a perpetual struggle from the earliest years of the republic until the time when, more than two centuries later, the plebs acquired sovereign rights co-ordinate with those of the Roman State.

To the former belonged certain religious privileges; the ancient priesthood of Jupiter, for example, and the office of 'Rex Sacrorum' (king of rites) which preserved a simulacrum of the monarchy, were reserved for them, and a form of sacramental marriage ('confarreatio') practised by patricians qualified the issue for these posts. In name the right of consulting the gods and ascertaining their pleasure before taking action on behalf of the state belonged only to the patres, although by a legal fiction the holders of all the great civil offices of state known as 'patrician magistracies' could 'take the auspices.' Only in one case did the ancient privilege revive, and that was when, owing to the failure to hold valid elections, the year opened with a vacancy in the supreme magistracy. Then 'the auspices returned to the patres,' that is to say, to the patrician members of the Senate, until an 'interrex' had been appointed and had restored the civil magistracy.

These ancient but empty privileges were counterbalanced by certain political disabilities; for the 'patricius' could neither vote in the assemblies of the plebs nor be elected to its magistracies; and since the tribuneship gave great opportunities to a would-be democratic leader, it was not unknown for a patrician to divest himself of his rank in order to become a candidate for this office.

What was the origin of these distinctions of rank and privilege? The Roman writers themselves speak with somewhat uncertain voice. The constitutional lawyers of later times seem to have held the view that the patricians were originally the only citizens of Rome in the true sense of the word. A jurist of Cicero's time held that they were identical with the 'ingenui' (free-born Romans) of his own day; and the word 'patricius' was, by an absurd derivation, made to mean 'one who can point to a father.' In a speech put by Livy into the mouth of a plebeian orator the patres are made to claim that they alone 'possess the institution of the family' ('gens').

This view is hard to reconcile with that which our narrative sources present of the origin of the patriciate. The legend ran that the founder of Rome selected the heads ('patres') of a hundred 'gentes' to form his senate, and that they and their descendants composed the patrician body, which was recruited by additions made by later kings, such as the six 'Alban' families admitted by Tullus Hostilius on the fall of Alba Longa, or the hundred 'junior families' ('minores gentes') whose heads were summoned to the Senate by Tarquin the Elder.

Moreover, there is not a hint in our historians that the struggle of the orders was one in which an alien body enforced a claim to citizenship in a community in which it had originally no part. It is also a noteworthy fact that, if we except Romulus and the Etruscan Tarquins, the kings of Rome bear the names of plebeian gentes, Pompilius, Hostilius, Marcius and Tullius, and that some of the hills on which Rome was built, such as the Oppius and the Caelius, are named

after plebeian families. Finally, at least one of the three earliest tribes, the Tities or Titienses, may be connected with the plebeian gens of the Titii. All these facts point to the conclusion that the group of families known as patrician, in whose hands the government of the nascent Republic lay, was formed by a selective process within a much wider circle of gentes.

The institution of the gens is found amongst all the Italic peoples, as well as the Etruscans. It is implied in the system of nomenclature common to all these peoples, which stands in marked contrast to that of the Greeks. The Greek, unless he belonged to one of the ancient families which traced its descent to a hero or god, and employed a patronymic, bore an individual name, and of these there was an infinite variety. In Italy he was known by a name chosen from a limited group—only about fifteen such are at all common among the Romans—but to this was added a second, adjectival in form, and usually ending in '-ius' (Fabius, Julius, etc.), which he shared with a large number of persons whose relationship with him it would in most cases have been impossible to trace in historical times; and these were his 'gentiles.'

An obvious analogy suggests itself in the Celtic clan, and since the Latin language has certain affinities with Celtic, it is difficult to say whether the gens owned common property, more especially in land. In historical times the estate of one who died intestate and without leaving an heir could be claimed in the first place by his 'agnati,' that is, those whose relationship to him by descent in the male line could be traced, and in default of such persons, by his 'gentiles,' who were defined by the lawyers as those of the same name whose ancestry showed no taint of servile origin; and this remote reversionary interest was all that the gens of later days retained.

A close association of the gentes with the soil is implied in the fact that when local tribes were formed at Rome those outside the city took their names from well known gentes, most (if not all) patrician, who formed no doubt the leading groups of settlers in the several districts; and we are told that when the Sabine Claudii were admitted to the Roman community they were allotted a tract of land across the Anio, as well as a burial place at the foot of the Capitol. Such common burial places, in fact, remained in the possession of gentes in historical times. There were also ties of common worship and sacrifices which united the members of a gens.

Now there is no doubt whatever that in the historical period plebeian gentes existed and had the rights and functions described above. The leading case which established the exclusive claim of the

AN OBSERVER OF AUSPICES

In early Rome only the 'patres' could 'take the auspices,' that is, read auguries from the flight of birds before state action. Probably it was a native Italic custom; above, however, is an Etruscan 'augur'—unless, as has been suggested, he is merely frightening birds.

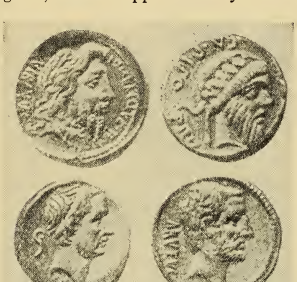
From Weege, 'Etruskische Malerei'

gentiles to burial in the common tomb, sanctified by the private rites of the gens, concerned such a plebeian clan. And the laws of the Twelve Tables, which held good for patres and plebs alike, recognize 'gentile' rights. How then are we to account for the exclusive privileges so long retained by the patricians?

Several modern writers have traced the distinction of patres and plebs to the difference between a conquering and a subjugated race. It has been suggested that the patricians represented the invading 'Italic' stock, the plebs the 'Ligurian'

aboriginal population; others would make the patricians Sabine and the plebs Latin, while others again reverse this latter distinction. None of these theories is based on convincing arguments.

Mommsen suggested that the origin of the plebs was to be sought in the system of clientship. There is no doubt that in early Rome the great families attracted to themselves large bodies of 'clients,' who placed themselves under their protection. It was the client's duty to follow his patron to battle, to contribute to his ransom and to the dowry of his daughter, and to support him by his vote



ROME'S LEGENDARY RULERS

On these coins of the late republic are represented three of the traditional kings of Rome: Romulus, Numa and Ancus Marcius, and the great first consul, Lucius Brutus (bottom left).

From Bernoulli, 'Römische Ikonographie'

in the assembly, while the obligation of protection imposed on the patron was only second in sanctity to that of parenthood.

Nor was clientage an institution peculiar to the Romans. Its origin is traced by legend to the founder of Rome, who, according to Cicero, distributed the plebs as clients among the noble families; but it is, of course, a natural economic result of the settlement of powerful family-groups upon conquered territory. The relation might also arise owing to the manumission of slaves, who on receiving their freedom took the name of their master, who now became their 'patronus.'

But clientage will not suffice to account for the existence of so large and powerful a body as the plebs of Rome. The 'clients' were, no doubt, plebeians; but the leaders of the plebeian movement were not necessarily clients who had shaken off the ties which bound them to patrician families. Many of them were, doubtless, well-to-do members of the trading class, and although they succeeded in harnessing the forces of discontent, their aim was to break down the barriers of privilege maintained by a limited group of families whose superiority they deemed artificial.

It seems, then, best to conclude that the closed circle of patrician families was gradually formed, largely by an economic process, within a large citizen-body. The more powerful gentes created for themselves a privileged status under the monarchical regime, and when they at length succeeded in overthrowing it, took into their hands the control of the newly-fledged Republic. The fact that they gave their names to the local tribe-divisions implies that their possessions lay in the district adjacent to the city; as the territory of Rome was gradually extended and fresh elements were incorporated into the state the plebs naturally grew in numbers and importance. Its members were, however, excluded both from the supreme magistracy of the state, represented since the fall of the monarchy by the two consuls, and from the permanent council of the patres—the Senate.

It is not without interest, as illustrating the Roman method of solving political problems, to compare the rise of the plebs with analogous movements in more recent times.

We find in the plebs an organized body external to the state which claims and obtains political power. It is not altogether fanciful to compare it in this respect with the Fascist organization in Italy and the Communist party in Russia. Both succeeded in making themselves supreme in their respective countries; but whereas Fascism did not alter the form of the constitution, an hereditary monarchy with an elective parliament, but secured the exclusive control of the organs of government and confirmed it by legislation, the Russian Communist party set up, first in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and then in the Federal Union of Republics of which that forms the

nucleus, an entirely new system which it dominated, and which it substituted for the previously existing fabric of government with the expressed object of replacing an apparatus capable of functioning smoothly whoever might be the actual holders of power by one which would be unworkable in any hand but its own.

The Romans solved the problem in their own way. The sovereignty of the community as a whole ('populus') remained unimpaired, and the existing organs of the constitution continued to perform their functions; but the populus delegated to the plebs—the whole to the part—a coördinate power of legislation, and to the officials of that corporation a concurrent right of initiating measures binding on the populus. This dual system continued throughout the history of the Republic. The acts of the people were the only laws ('leges'); the plebs passed resolutions ('scita'), though these were of universal validity, and the patricians, though not summoned to the gatherings in which they were enacted, were forced to obey them.

How did this come about? Tradition speaks with no doubtful voice of a series of secessions, in which the plebs withdrew from the community, set up its own organization by tribes and elected its own officers ('tribuni'). The last of these, by means of which it finally established its right to legislate for the people, took place in 287 B.C. The first, in which the tribunate was instituted, is dated as early as 494 B.C., but there is no agreement either as to the position occupied by the seceders, or as to the number of tribunes elected. In any case, the full college of ten members dates from the middle of the century.

The immediate object of the plebs was to secure the common citizen against the arbitrary exercise of the undefined and almost unlimited authority ('imperium') which was vested in the magistrates of the Roman people. With this end in view, the tribunes were instructed to 'furnish succour' ('ferre auxilium') to any individual who invoked their aid; and in order to give the necessary sanction of force to this power, the plebs bound itself by oath to slay anyone who laid hands on its officers and hindered them in the exercise of their duties.

The next step was to secure the codification and promulgation of the law administered by the magistrates of the people. According to Livy the plebs resolved to appoint a commission for this purpose as early as 462 B.C., but met with bitter opposition on the part of the patres, and it was only after several years of strife that the ruling caste consented to the framing of a code. First of all, three envoys were sent to Greece to gather information concerning the laws in use in the Greek communities, especially those of Solon; and after their return the constitution was temporarily suspended and the supreme magistracy replaced by a Commission of Ten ('decemviri'), whose decisions were not subject to appeal. Its members were all patrician, and it carried out the task imposed on it within the year, embodying the laws in Ten Tables which were submitted to the people for confirmation. But—so the story goes—a second board of Ten was appointed for the following year, which, though it contained two plebeian members, added amongst other laws (bringing the number of tables up to twelve) a provision forbidding 'conubium' (that is, the contraction of a marriage making the issue Roman citizens) between patricians and plebeians, and acted so oppressively that it was overthrown by a popular rising, and a constitutional settlement took place in 449 B.C., under the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, which formed a landmark in the early history of Rome. The new code came into force in the following year.

The Laws of the Twelve Tables

Some modern scholars have cast doubts on the antiquity and authenticity of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, suggesting that the story of their promulgation arose from the projection into the past of the action of Gnaeus Flavius, who in 304 B.C. made public the forms of legal procedure to which strict adherence was obligatory on all suitors. Less radical critics believe that the text current in later historical times contained material of various dates and had in course of transmission been modernised in substance as well as in language.

This attitude of scepticism is unjustifiable. The mixture of highly archaic

maxims of law with advanced provisions concerning, for example, marriage and inheritance, is remarkable, but finds its explanation in the circumstances under which the code was promulgated. What the plebeians demanded was the recognition by the state of the customs which they practised, as creating valid legal relations, and this they succeeded in obtaining. Where such questions did not arise, the legislators, with due Roman respect for the past, gave their sanction to immemorial customs such as find their parallels amongst all primitive peoples.

The 'Patria Potestas' a Roman institution

But beside these archaic enactments we find in the Code the explicit recognition of principles adapted to the needs of a growing and thriving community. In the private law of Rome the only person possessing a full legal personality was the 'paterfamilias'. We naturally think of him in the first instance under the aspect of fatherhood. The 'patria potestas,' of which the Romans spoke as an institution peculiar to themselves suggests to us the 'power of life and death' exercised by the father over his descendants, which, though limited by custom and sentiment, survived throughout Roman history and was never abolished—a son was executed by his father for taking part in the conspiracy of Catiline. But this despotic authority over the members of the family was in fact only a means to the end which early Roman law and custom had in view—the preservation of the unity, solidarity and perpetuity of the household and its goods. But if the system based upon the patria potestas was retained by the patrician families, the plebs had long outgrown it, and the Twelve Tables recognized their customs. Their testamentary dispositions took the form of a transfer of the 'familia' by a fictitious sale in which the purchaser acted as an executor and carried out the wishes expressed by the testator, and the law now gave him complete freedom of bequest and of the appointment of guardians.

The new law looked favorably on the emancipation of slaves, and facilitated the purchase of freedom by a slave on the death of his master. Slavery in early Rome was of course a very different thing from the 'plantation' system of later times, when scores of thousands of barbarian captives taken in the great wars of conquest or kidnapped from the slave markets of the Aegean were ruthlessly worked to death on the great estates of Italian landowners. The slave trade was as yet unknown, and the captive taken in the wars of Rome with her near neighbors was not a mere chattel, but in a real sense belonged to the 'familia' and was admitted to the protection of its gods. On his liberation he became a Roman citizen.

In the matter of marriage, the Code recognized the contract by consent which was practised by the plebeian community. This did not bring the woman under the 'potestas' of her husband as did the ancient form unless he acquired it by prescription ('usus'), which could be broken by an absence of three nights during the year, or by fictitious purchase ('coemptio').

The sumptuary laws of the Tenth Table deal largely with the expense of funeral ceremonies. The hiring of troops of mourners, the lavish use of unguents, the placing of crowns (other than such as the deceased had won as the reward of valor) on the pyre and the burying of gold ('unless,' as the law quaintly adds, 'in the stoppings of teeth') are forbidden.

The enactments which did most to satisfy the claims of the plebs were those which guaranteed to the citizen a right of appeal ('provocatio') to the popular assembly from the sentence of a magistrate. The Twelve Tables made frequent mention of the right; Cicero tells us that they provided an appeal 'from every judgement or penalty.' Moreover, they laid down that no capital sentence should be pronounced except by the 'greatest assembly,' which was the nation in arms; and further, that there should be no 'privilegia' (i.e. Bills of Pains and Penalties) directed against a named individual. After the fall of the Decemvirate (which as an extra-constitutional body had enjoyed absolute jurisdiction) the people passed a law forbidding the creation of any such magistracy in the future, and the plebs passed a similar resolution in its own assembly.

It is necessary, however, to remember that the sphere within which the citizen could exercise his right was limited by

the first milestone. Within that radius he was 'at home'; beyond it he was 'on active service,' and therefore under military discipline; also, that when a dictator was appointed, martial law was set up even within the walls of the city.

There remained yet one, and that the most important, position which the plebs sought to conquer—access to the magistracy, especially the supreme office of the consulship. Here the patres made their final stand. Rather than surrender their exclusive right to the chief magistracy they resorted in most years to the expedient of suspending it, and entrusting its functions to a certain number (normally six) of the staff officers named tribuni militum.

Even so, scarcely any plebeians were elected to this office before 400 B.C., when the tide began to turn, and in 399 B.C. the plebs secured a majority in the College. About the same time we first meet with the name of a plebeian among the senators. The minor office of the quaestorship had already been held by a plebeian in 409 B.C. In seventy-seven years 'consular tribunes' were elected on fifty-one occasions, and it was not until 367 B.C. that the plebs secured the passing of a law that one of the two consuls should be plebeian.

When the consulship was first thrown open to the plebs, some compensation was offered to the patricians in the creation of two fresh offices, that of the praetor, whose duty it was to administer law to the citizens, and that of the so-called 'curule' aediles, modelled on the wardens of the plebs. It was understood that these were to be reserved for patricians, and the praetorship was not in fact held by a plebeian until 337 B.C.; but almost from the first we find the aediles taken in alternate years from patricians and plebeians.

In 339 B.C. Publilius Philo, the second plebeian to become dictator, passed a law prescribing that at least one censor should be plebeian, as well as a measure of greater importance which deprived the patres, in the narrower sense of the term, namely, the patrician members of the Senate, of their privileges of ratifying the acts of the assembled people. The 'authority of the patres,' as it was called, had once been the crowning act in the legislative process, signifying the approval of the leaders of the people and depositaries of the traditions which were as sacred to the Romans as the law. But as the plebeian element in the Senate grew and the patrician families one by one became extinct or drifted into obscurity, the utterance of the remnant lost all political significance, and it was now enacted that the expression of the patres' approval should be given before

TYPE OF THE FUNERALS RESTRICTED BY THE TEN TABLES

One of the sumptuary enactments of the Ten Tables restricted expenditure on funerary ceremonies. What these ceremonies had been like, and why it was deemed provident to curb them, may be gathered from Etruscan tomb paintings; for according to a statement of Appian (probably correct) Roman customs in these matters were derived from Etruria. In the painting above, from the Tomba delle Iscrizioni, we see athletes wrestling and an equestrian procession.

From Poulsen, 'Etruscan Tomb Paintings,' Clarendon Press

the votes of the people were taken, and this formality continued to be observed even in the times of Cicero.

Gradual Extinction of Patricians

It is interesting to observe, with reference to the disappearance of patrician families, that out of somewhat more than seventy patrician gentes whose names are known to us, only twenty-four are represented in the lists of magistrates (so far as our materials enable us to compile them) in the period following the Licinio-Sextian reforms. Of these only six survived in the reign of Augustus.

Finally, the plebs made good its claim to a share in those priestly offices which were of importance in the domain of public and private law. In 300 B.C., two tribunes, Quintus and Gaius Ogulnius, carried a law increasing the number of pontiffs and augurs to nine each, and providing that five of the former and four of the latter should always be plebeian. It is, however, noteworthy that the Board of Ten whose duty was to keep and when necessary to consult the Sibylline Oracles (that is, to supervise the introduction of Greek religious cults), was partly plebeian as constituted by one of the Licinio-Sextian laws of 367 B.C. This was because it did not concern the ancient religion of the patrician state. The patrician 'die-hards,' as we gather from Livy, brought forward the old arguments—the 'auspices' were theirs alone; they only had true gentes; lawful 'authority' (imperium) at home and abroad belonged only to them. But Decius Mus evoked the memory of his father, whose voluntary self-sacrifice had gained the victory for Rome in the Latin war, and the measure was carried by a huge majority.

End of the Struggle of the Orders

Thirteen years after the promulgation of the law of Quintus and Gaius Ogulnius, the 'struggle of the orders' was finally composed by the Hortensian law, passed in consequence of the last 'secession' of the plebs, which made that body a second sovereign. Rome had solved her problem without the bloody strife of faction which so many Greek cities were unable to avoid. The pages of her history are not stained with such episodes as the massacre of Corcyra which moved Thucydides to write the terrible indictment of his countrymen which we read in his third book. There was never a body of exiles plotting to re-enter their native city with foreign aid and to drive their opponents in turn into banishment. To patrician and plebeian alike the public cause ('res publica') came first.

Rome had become in form a democracy, if by that we mean a state in which (at any rate in theory) 'that which concerns all is decided by all' and in which equality of rights has taken the place of exclusive privilege. But equality of rights does not bring with it equality of opportunities, and the liberation of new forces was bound to raise fresh and more difficult problems of adjustment. The failure to solve them involved the fall of the Republic.

HISTORY'S MOST GLORIOUS FAILURE

STUDY OF HANNIBAL HIS CHARACTER AND STRATEGY AS REVEALED IN THE EPIC STRUGGLE WITH ROME

B. H. LIDDELL HART

Military Correspondent of 'The Times'; Author of 'A Greater than Napoleon: Scipio Africanus,' 'A History of the World War,' etc.

It is the year 238 B.C. Before the altar of Baal-Moloch in the city of Carthage stands the great general Hamilcar Barca, offering sacrifice for the success of the expedition which he is about to lead into Spain by way of the Strait of Gibraltar. Few who watch him have any insight into the ultimate motive, stupendous in idea and in consequence, which is driving him into this self-imposed exile. Perhaps its significance is revealed, by instinct, most to the nine-year-old boy who stands near him, a boy whose features tell the relationship of the two by a similarity rare even between father and son.

For Hannibal—the "Grace of Baal"—had been born in the later years of the First Punic War, when Hamilcar was about to begin that heroic guerrilla struggle in which, during six years, he strove to preserve Sicily from the Romans, only to be thwarted by lack of support from war-weary Carthage. Hannibal's early childhood had been filled with impressions of mingled pride and shame—with the epic glory of his father's fight against odds which alone brightened with honor the gloom of material losses, with the bitterness which springs from undeserved defeat, and with the sense that military genius had disclosed a potential counterpoise to the traditional sea supremacy which Carthage had forfeited.

At the end of the ceremony Hamilcar called his young son forward and asked him whether he would like to accompany the expedition to Spain. At Hannibal's eager assent, his father led him up to the altar and bade him swear an oath of lifelong enmity to Rome. Then, the two prepared to set out from a mother city which the father was never to see again, the son only after thirty-six years.

Twenty years have passed. The scene has changed to the ramparts of Italy, those towering Alpine battlements which seem to fall sheer to the rich plain they protect. On a wide bare platform between two peaks, a stage raised by Nature—probably the Col du Clapier—is assembled a horde as awe-inspiring as their setting. Faces wolfish from hunger and pinched from cold, ragged dress and variety of equipment, may give them a tatterdemalion air, accentuated by their mixture of races—Spanish and African foot, Numidian cavalry on their desert-bred horses, Balearic slingers and a sprinkling of fair-skinned Gauls. But their very assortment appears to symbolize the threatened racial encirclement of Rome, and the presence of such an army in such a situation, poised above the plains of Italy, adds to their terrifying appearance.

Hannibal, with dramatic instinct, summons his men together, and points to the view unfurled beneath them. "A battle, perhaps two," and Rome, the goal, would be in their grasp. The scene signifies not only the imagination which, coupled with vengeance, was the great driving force of Hannibal, but also his use of it as a moral tonic to his men, one of the secrets of his extraordinary power in welding this cosmopolitan collection of mercenaries into a matchless tool for his genius. For him the view symbolized Rome beneath him, for them it symbolized a limitless vista of booty.

What a gamble it was! Those who saw the view were little more than half the number who, crossing first the Pyrenees and then the Rhône, and begun that arduous climb up the western slopes of the Alps. Difficult as had been the passage of the precipitous and roadless gorges for an army—with all its horses, pack-animals

and elephants—the obstacles of Nature were less than the obstacles of men. For, as the snake-like column dragged its endless tail round mountain spurs and along the face of precipices, it was repeatedly assailed by the mountain tribes.

What power of leadership must have radiated from this young man of twenty-nine to carry his heterogeneous army of mercenaries so far from their homes.

HANNIBAL, 'WIZARD OF WAR'

Born c. 247 B.C., Hannibal for more than twenty years commanded the Carthaginian army against Rome. After his one and only defeat he became a wanderer, and died in a foreign land by his own hand, c. 183 B.C.

When they at last stood on the plains of Italy, they mustered only 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse—a mere handful to invade a state which, fighting on its own ground, had a quarter of a million men listed for service among its citizens and allies, and thrice that number capable of bearing arms.

Yet, if the physical odds were so heavily with Rome, Hannibal had a counterpoise which has been too often underrated by historians. For he pitted his military genius against commanders who knew only the drill but not the art of war and he brought a superbly trained professional army against short-service citizen levies.

Now it is two years later. It is the evening of Cannae.

Since Hannibal entered Italy he has defeated the Roman armies in three great battles. First at the Trebia, where he had not only drawn the enemy to battle breakfastless on a bitter winter day, but had hidden a picked body of troops in the sunken bed of a stream—to emerge and strike the Romans in the rear when they were spent from hunger and the strain of resisting the direct attack, and the more vulnerable because of the rout of their cavalry.

Then at Lake Trasimenus in the spring of 217 B.C.; here, after slipping past the army of Flaminius, which blocked the road to Rome, he prepared for his pursuers an ambush which, in art and scope, has no match in history. Concealing his troops overnight on the hills which bordered the lake, he waited until the Roman army, in hot pursuit, was pressing along the lake shore in the early morning, and then at a signal his troops, sweeping down from the mist-wreathed slopes, blocked both ends of the defile—as a prelude to a battle that, morally and mentally won before it began, became a massacre.

The road to Rome lay open to Hannibal, with barely a hundred miles to go, and with no formed army at hand to oppose him. But instead of marching south he turned east towards the Adriatic shore. For this the military reason often advanced is that his army, essentially equipped for mobile warfare had no siege train. It may be true, for, although there is no direct proof, the repulse of his attempt to take Spoletum is perhaps indirect evidence.

But beyond this there seems to be a political reason. Since crossing the Alps he had conducted a ceaseless and subtle propaganda, its keynote that "he was not come to fight against Italians, but on behalf of Italians against Rome." Consistently he had released without ransom all prisoners who were not Romans, seeking thus to detach from Rome her allies.

With his first military successes many of the Gallic tribes north of the Po had come over to his banner, but he had still to gain the alliance of the Italian states. It is well to remember that, if his route from Trasimenus took him away from

Rome, it took him towards his allies. His army was a mercenary coalition and he now aimed to expand and secure it through the achievement of a political coalition—his policy that of the racial encirclement of Rome.

Granted a respite after Trasimenus, the Romans, now awake to the imminence of the menace, appointed a dictator, Fabius, who adopted a strategy henceforth to be linked with his name for all time, a strategy of wearing down the enemy's strength by avoiding battle. Time was on his side.

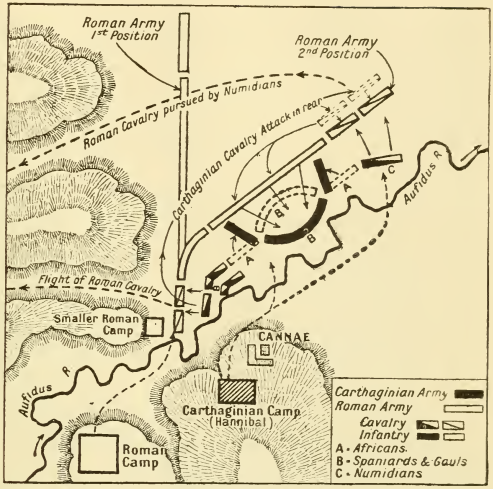
Dogging Hannibal's footsteps, keeping to the hills where Hannibal could not bring his cavalry superiority into play, cutting off stragglers and foraging parties, he remained an elusive shadow on the horizon, dimming the glory of Hannibal's triumphal progress. Thus Fabius, by his very presence and immunity from defeat, thwarted Hannibal's moral suasion over the minds of the Italian allies.

However, attrition strategy is a two-edged weapon, and is apt to injure those who wield it through the moral depression and strain it involves. When after six months the tenure of Fabius expired, Rome was almost compelled by the devastation of the lands of her allies to relieve the strain by a reversion to direct action. If the instinct was right, the execution was faulty, and the new consuls allowed themselves to be drawn to battle on the cavalry arena afforded by the coastal plain of the Adriatic. Here, on the field of Cannae, the greatest host Rome had ever brought into action—eight legions instead of the two of the usual consular army—was annihilated.

As usual, the Carthaginian infantry were in the center, the cavalry on the flanks, but the actual disposition was unconventional. For Hannibal pushed forward the Gauls and Spaniards who formed the center of the infantry line, while holding back his African foot, posted at each end of the line. Thus the Gauls and Spaniards formed a natural magnet for the Roman infantry and were, as intended, forced back and back, so that what had been a line bulging outwards became a line bulging inwards.

Eager to break through the enemy center, the Roman legionaries crowded into the bulge and the press grew ever denser. While they thought they were breaking the Carthaginian front, they were actually pushing themselves into a Carthaginian sack. For at this juncture Hannibal's African veterans wheeled inwards from both sides, and automatically took the thick press of the Romans in flank.

Meanwhile, the assault of Hannibal's heavy cavalry on the left had broken the



OPPOSING FORCES AT CANNAE

The description in Livy leaves little doubt as to the main course of the battle, but the exact terrain is uncertain; according to many authorities it was fought on the opposite (south) bank of the River Aufidus. The outstanding fact is the skill with which Hannibal tempted the Romans into the trap formed by his sagging line.

opposing cavalry on that wing and, sweeping round the Roman rear, had dispersed the cavalry on the other wing, who had been held in play by the elusive Numidian horse. Leaving the pursuit to the Numidians, the heavy cavalry had then delivered the *coup de grâce* by bursting on the rear of the Roman foot, already surrounded on three sides. Thence forward it was but a massacre.

When the rumors of disaster reached Rome, there was panic among the people, if not among the Senate—but for its prompt and resolute action masses of the inhabitants would have fled the city. For the dread advance guard of Hannibal was expected hourly.

Why in this hour of supreme triumph does he abstain from attempting the consummation? His next efforts are directed to breaking up the Italian confederation, and the reward of his victory at Cannae comes in the first secessions of these states. His political object is clearly to continue building up a coalition against Rome. But why do this when Rome is stripped of her defenders, and her allies, if they have not deserted her, are temporarily paralyzed? An advance on Rome is not only the direct way to gain Rome, but the quickest way to hasten the secession of her Italian allies. Clearly, there must be a deeper explanation than any yet offered. What is the mainspring of Hannibal's whole career and campaigns? It is vengeance—Semitic vengeance, conceived on a scale and with a majesty of design far removed from a crude vendetta.

To sweep down from the Alps and over-

ITINERARY OF HANNIBAL'S CAMPAIGNING AGAINST ROME

After capturing Saguntum in 219 B.C. Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees and marched along the south coast of Gaul, and, turning inland at the Rhone, crossed the Alps. Successive victories on the Ticinus and the Trebia, at lake Trasimene and Cannae followed, after which he established himself at Capua. Thereafter he traversed Italy in all directions, and after the defeat of Hasdrubal on the Metaurus in 207 B.C., maintained himself in the peninsula of Bruttium until 203, when he was recalled to Africa.

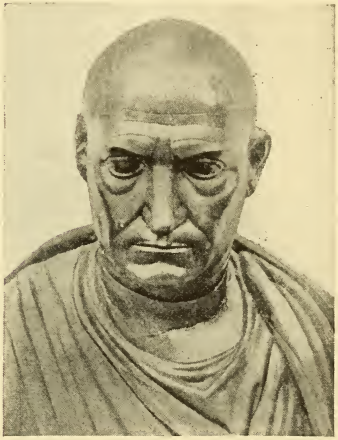
whelm Rome in a swift, Homeric conflict would enable the defeated to fall fighting in a blaze of glory. But if Rome's armies could be one by one destroyed, her allies turned to spurn her, the fruits of her years of conquest gradually plucked from her, while she in pitiable weakness, and in the sight of all who had long feared her, awaited the inevitable end—what an epic vengeance!

Five years pass. Hannibal rides up to the walls of Rome itself. His coming has been announced by a flood of terror-stricken refugees from all the countryside. Within the walls there is the same panic, the same lamentations of women, as on the morrow of Cannae. But the Senate is equally resolute and far less moved. And Hannibal himself lets his eyes rest on the city, not with the satisfied look of one who holds the prize in his hand, but with the wistful glance of him who makes a supreme act of renunciation. He casts his spear over the walls—symbol of defiance but also of futility—and a few days later turns his back on Rome itself, for ever.

After Cannae, many Italian cities had come over to him. From Capua south down the shin to the toe of Italy most of the land acknowledged his leadership. But, even here, numerous Latin colonies or Roman garrisons held out, and the heel as well as all the upper part of the leg of Italy was unshakably solid in fidelity to Rome. While the respite after Cannae enabled Rome to raise fresh levies to replace her lost legions, Hannibal's new allies accepted his help rather than tendered him theirs. And his help was soon needed, for although the Romans were too wary to risk another pitched battle, four armies kept watch on him, harassing his detachments and confederates, as well as giving both moral and timely material aid to the fortresses which he threatened.

More ominous still, the Roman generals were learning the art of war from their master, and some of his pupils, Marcellus particularly, began to score points in these desultory exchanges. In 213 B.C., while Hannibal was away in the south besieging Tarentum, the Romans laid siege to Capua, and although Hannibal relieved it once, the Romans lured him away by a threat elsewhere and promptly returned to the siege. Their entrenched lines of circumvallation were soon so strong that a fresh and direct attempt at relief by Hannibal failed, and it was in a calculating but desperate effort at indirect relief that, in 211 B.C., he marched on Rome. But the opposing generals, both before Capua and in Rome, were not deceived by this strategic bluff, and detached only a small part of the besieging force as a stiffening to the ample new levies in Rome.

After Capua had fallen Hannibal's sole



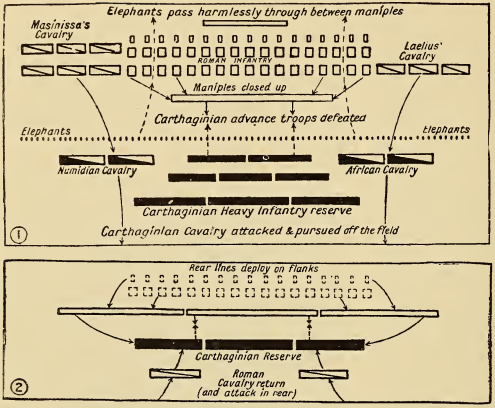
SCIPIO THE ELDER

The victor of Zama—Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus 'the Elder'—was born in 237 and died about 183 B.C. None of the extant portrait busts were made from life, but the one shown above, found near Cumae, the home of his later years, is generally held to be the best.

From Bernoulli, 'Romische Ikonographie'

hope lay in support from his own people. Carthage had sent him only the most meagre reinforcements. She was a "nation of tradesmen," and while she could appreciate the value of war as a means to new markets or resources, she had no thirst either for empire or revenge. Moreover, she was divided by faction, and there was a powerful "peace party" whose policy was dictated as much by a personal feud with the Barcine party as by distrust of their "imperialistic" designs.

Hannibal's remaining hope, in default of direct support from home, lay in rein-



PHASES OF THE BATTLE OF ZAMA

Scipio arranged his army in the usual Roman order but left wide lanes between the companies, down which the elephants with which Hannibal opened the battle charged without doing much damage (1). On the wings the Roman cavalry put the Carthaginian horse to flight, and then returning attacked Hannibal's infantry in rear and caused a general rout (2).

forcements from his Spanish base. But here the Romans intervened. No diversion was ever better justified than the action of Rome in maintaining large armies in Spain while she was fighting for her life on her own soil. The brothers Publius and Gnaeus Scipio were successful during the crucial years in keeping the Carthaginians so fully occupied in Spain that it was out of the question to send troops to Hannibal in Italy. True, in 212 B.C., the year before Capua fell, the Scipios were defeated and killed. This was perhaps the darkest hour for Rome since Cannae, but the twenty-four-year-old son of Publius Scipio, who had distinguished himself in preserving the remnants of the Roman army after Cannae, volunteered to take the command in Spain.

By a brilliant march and a *coup de main* he seized Cartagena, the main Carthaginian base in Spain, under the noses of three hostile armies. But although he was too weak to prevent Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, from leaving Spain next year by the land route, it was with such a small fragment of the Carthaginian forces that Hasdrubal had to tarry in Gaul to recruit and reorganize, losing two vital years before he at last pushed on into Italy, in 207 B.C. By then Hannibal's situation had changed for the worse, and he was gradually being hemmed into an ever narrowing area in the south of Italy.

At Canusium, a few miles from the battlefields of Cannae, Hannibal is in camp. Facing him is the camp of the army under the consul Nero. Hannibal's outposts behold a party emerge from the Roman camp; as they come closer they are seen to be prisoners, chained and under escort; a little closer, and they are recognized as Africans. Then one of the escort advances and throws a human head on the ground before returning. The Carthaginian outposts pick up the head and take it to Hannibal, who recognizes the marred features as those of his brother. It is the first news that he has had that Hasdrubal was even in Italy. Soon two of the captives, released for the purpose, give him a full account of the disaster.

The messengers sent by Hasdrubal to tell Hannibal of his arrival in Italy and of his plans had traversed the whole length of Italy safely, only to miss Hannibal, owing to one of his frequent changes of position, and fall into the hands of Nero. Thereupon Nero had resolved upon a bold cast, and, leaving part of his force still facing Hannibal, had gone north by forced marches to join the other consul in a concentrated blow against Hasdrubal. In seven days and nights he covered some 250 miles, defeating Hasdrubal at the Metaurus and marched back quicker than he had come, so that he was again facing Hannibal a fortnight after he had silently slipped away.

Recognizing that his last hope of conquest had vanished, Hannibal quits the scene of his triumph nine years before,

and falls back to Bruttium, the toe of Italy, there to stand at bay for another five years. During sixteen years he has marched and countermarched in a hostile country, supported only by his own exertions, yet making the war support itself—a feat without parallel in history. To have held his mercenary and heterogeneous band together through the perils of the Alps and the march into the heart of Italy was remarkable; but it was nothing compared with the manner in which he held their devotion through fourteen years of fading fortune. And he quitted the land without molestation, the Roman armies daring no more than to follow him down to the shore at a respectful distance.

Hannibal's vigil of revenge in Italy was ended by an urgent recall to Africa to save Carthage from the rising star of Scipio. For Scipio, after conquering Spain and destroying there the whole fabric of Carthaginian dominion which Hamilcar had woven, had carried the war into Africa, defying the military wiseacres of the Senate. Annoyed at Scipio's presumption, his senatorial opponents not only sought to deprive him of command on a trumped-up charge, but, foiled in this, took care to give him as little effective support as Carthage had given to his rival.

HANNIBAL'S BETRAYER

This silver tetradrachm preserves the lineaments of Prusias I, King of Bithynia in 228-185 B.C., to whose hospitality Hannibal entrusted himself, only to be betrayed at last.

From Ward, 'Greek Coins'

With two disgraced legions and a few thousand volunteers Scipio sailed from Sicily and confounded the prophets of gloom by making good his hold on African soil. With prudence he first sought to secure a base and to weld his troops into a fighting force. Then he moved, shattered the field armies of Carthage and her African allies, and, before Hannibal could return, forced Carthage to sue for peace. But the news that Hannibal had landed encouraged Carthage to break the truce, and Scipio's position, isolated on foreign soil, looked as black as his opponents at home could wish.

By what was a masterly strategic move, however, he tilted the scales in his favor. Instead of falling back along the coast to his base, he advanced inland up the Bagradas valley—a move which apparently isolated him still more. Actually, however, by this menace to the main source of supply for Carthage he compelled Hannibal to follow him to a battleground of his own choosing.

The shadows are lengthening on the battlefield of Zama—in the year 202 B.C. From behind a rampart of corpses advances a line of Roman legionaries, unexpectedly thin if also unexpectedly long. Hannibal has been awaiting this moment all the long day of fighting.

His "Old Guard" of 24,000 veterans from Italy has been held back in reserve. They have seen the thunderous charge of the elephants nullified by Scipio's originality in leaving lanes between his cohorts down which the maddened beasts had taken the line of least resistance to themselves—and least damage to the Romans. They have caught glimpses through the dust clouds of the swirl of the cavalry fight on the wings, which has ended unfavorably to them, but also in the disappearance of both pursuers and pursued. They have stood and watched their first two infantry lines, composed of Gallic mercenaries and home levies, shattered after a fierce struggle.

But the victors must surely have suffered severely and become disordered—their own chance would come for the decisive counterstroke. To their disgust, however, they see that Scipio has had the impudence not only to reorganize but to change his dispositions, securely screened by the rampart of bodies, and in the knowledge that his opponents dared not risk disarranging their close-ranked formation by an advance over such corpse-littered ground. The Hannibalic host is still more astonished to see that Scipio is deploying his rear lines on the flanks of his first line. Surely he is mad to stake a single thin line against their deep mass,

even though it gives him the momentary advantage of overlapping their flanks.

At last the Romans are coming. Hannibal gives the long awaited signal and his massive phalanx bears down on the slender Roman line. What if the mass be checked for a moment by the stream of missiles which that line can shower, owing to its extension—once the opposing ranks are at hand-grips, weight must tell, and the lighter be pulverized. But the rearmost Cathaginian ranks hear the thunder of hoofs behind them—it is Scipio's cavalry returning from the pursuit, as he had calculated when making his novel disposition. The decisive manœuvre of Cannae is repeated—but reversed, and the result also. Scipio has not only learnt Hannibal's art, but borrowed from him his most deadly instrument—superiority of cavalry.

A few weeks later in the city of Carthage. The assembly is discussing the peace terms which Scipio has offered—unexpectedly moderate, as no extra penalties are exacted for the violated truce. Yet an orator, closing his eyes to the helplessness of Carthage, is advocating a continuance of the struggle. Hannibal, tired of listening to those who for sixteen years have merely made war with words, rises from his seat and pulls the speaker down. At a murmur from the assembly Hannibal asks it ironically to pardon him if, after thirty-six years' service abroad, he has forgotten the etiquette of debate. Then he strongly urges it to accept the terms.

For seven years he strives loyally to fulfil them, diverting his genius, as many-sided as Napoleon's, into new channels—the restoration of Carthage's prosperity and the improvement of its administration.

With the collapse of his scheme of vengeance, has the spirit which inspired it changed? Having learnt the futility of destruction, has he turned his energies to reconstruction as a worthier memorial of his genius, or merely as a means to an end—that of building up the material strength of Carthage for a fresh military cast? We shall never know. For now the hatred and distrust of Hannibal felt by Rome become apparent. In vain Scipio protests that such vindictiveness to a man is unbecoming to the dignity of the Roman people. Cato, with his parrot-cry of *Delenda est Carthago,* carries the first step of his programme of persecution, and, to avoid being brought to trial, Hannibal flees from Carthage by sea.

Henceforward he sets out again on the stony path of revenge. He has failed to raise the West against Rome; for the remainder of his life he will try to raise the East. From Tyre, the cradle of the Phoenician race, he goes to the court of Antiochus, king of Syria, who is contemplating an invasion of Greece to stem the Roman tide.

Once more Hannibal designs a vast scheme for the conquest of Italy; Hannibal plans that Antiochus should advance through Greece while he goes to Carthage, to raise Africa against the oppressor. The jealousy and egoism of Antiochus make this scheme still-born, and soon Antiochus is conquered in Asia Minor by an invading Roman army. The Roman peace terms demand the surrender of Hannibal, but he escapes to Bithynia, where the king, Prusias, promises him a safe refuge.

Dusk deepens into darkness. The house which Prusias had assigned to Hannibal some years before is encircled by a cordon of shadowy figures. Then an armed party marches into the porch. Hannibal has no need to be told the meaning. His attendants hurriedly rush to see if there is an avenue of escape, if one of the secret passages which have been prepared is open. Everywhere, however, they are brought to a halt by the glint of arms. The spies of the king have done their work well, his band of assassins are watching every bolt-hole.

But there is one resource they cannot block. Hannibal calls for poison, long kept ready, and with the comment, majestic in its irony, but perhaps apocryphal, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man," drains the cup.

THE AGONY OF GREECE: HOW THE LEAGUES AROSE

By EDWYN BEVAN

Lecturer on Hellenistic History and Literature, King's College, London, 1922-1933; Author of Hellenism and Christianity, etc.

FROM the primitive tribal society two forms of state arose in the ancient world. The first was the monarchic state which took shape in the countries of the Nile and of the Euphrates before the time when written records of mankind began.

Then, with the emergence of Greek civilization—one may say roughly in the seventh century B.C.—a new type of state appeared, the city state. It was in this new form of state—the city state—that Greek rationalist culture was developed, with all its wonderful intellectual, literary and artistic productions. But from the first moment that the city state existed it had to compete with the other form of state in the countries adjacent to Greek lands—with Lydia and Persia, and afterwards with Macedonia.

The tragedy of the Greek city state came from its being too small. Yet attempts were made by Greeks to form larger aggregates of power by co-operation between a number of different urban communities. In the fifth century B.C. the way chosen to secure this co-operation was alliance. The Delian Confederation, headed by Athens, was formed to carry on the war against Persia, and counterbalancing this was the group of mainland city states allied with Sparta. But the Delian Confederation changed from an alliance between a group of equal states to an empire in which Athens ruled over subject peoples, and the states in alliance with Sparta were in fact subordinate to Sparta.

In the interval between the death of Alexander and the coming of Rome another form of association was tried in Greece, in a forlorn attempt to remedy the disadvantage of the single city state before it was too late—the way of federation. It is this new movement of Greek political instinct which gives its special interest to the last days of Greek freedom. Not that federal communities were an entirely new thing in the Greek world, or that the two 'Leagues'—the Aetolian and the Achaean—which played the principal part in these days, had not existed at the earlier time; only these two old Leagues now come from the background into the foreground; they are developed and extended, and show capacities which under more favorable conditions might have kept Greece free.

That part of the Greek people which had drawn together centuries before into great cities—Athens, Corinth, Miletus, Ephesus, Syracuse, and so on—had developed the peculiar culture of the Greek city state. But they had not been the whole of the Greek people. In certain areas of Greece the people still continued to live scattered in small towns in the primitive way.

These more primitive communities, organized rather as rural or mountain tribes than as citizens, had the form of federations. This was the case with the Aetolians, Acarnanians, Phocians and Locrians, and the Achaeans of the Peloponnesus.

The Aetolians were good fighters, but had a bad reputation as freebooters. With their neighbors on the west, the Acarnanians, they had a hereditary enmity. It is immediately after the death of Alexander that the Aetolian League begins to show itself as a power in Greece, and in 279, when the Gallic horde penetrated as far as Delphi, the Aetolians took a principal part in the defence.

The Aetolian 'League' ('koinon') was a state in which the inhabitants of the small townships dotted over the hills all had equal rights as 'Aetolians.' At its head was an annual president or general with the military title, 'strategos.' Sovereignty in the state rested with the assembly of the people.

MACEDONIA
THRACE
ILLYRIA
EPIRUS
THESSALY
PERGAMUM
SELEUCID KINGDOM
CARIA
PELOPONNESE
RHODES
Apollonia
Pella
Pydna
Potidaea
Amphipolis
Aidera
Thasos
Aenos
Propontis
Cyzicus
Sestos
Lemnos
Ae
Ae
Ae

the Aetolians drew in the hill-peoples to the north, beyond the Achelous—the region of Aperantia and the Agraei. About the same time they incorporated the Ozolian Locrians, and by 290 their power had stretched over Delphi. Soon after the Gallic invasion (279) the Aetolian League has come to include the Dolopes on the north, the Aenianes, the Oetaeans and the Dorians of Doris, all the country down to Thermopylae. About 265 the Aetolians arranged a partition of Acarnania with Alexander, King of Epirus. The eastern districts were incorporated in the Aetolian League and the northern taken into alliance by Alexander. About the same time the Aetolians incorporated the Epicnemidian Locrians. The Aetolian territory was now larger than that of any other Greek state, except Macedonia.

Macedonia had not yet lost all its hold upon Greece. After the half-century of confusion which followed Alexander's death, Macedonia had been consolidated as a kingdom by Antigonus Gonatas. Macedonian garrisons still, in 267 B.C., held the Piraeus, Chalcis in Euboea, and Cornith. In 266 the Chremonidean War broke out, the war in which Athens and Sparta were allied, with Ptolemaic backing, to break the Macedonian yoke. Aetolia seems to have stood aloof. When Antigonus in 265 marched with an army to attack Athens, he must have crossed Aetolian territory without opposition. The war of freedom was a failure. The Spartan king fell fighting against the Macedonian garrison in Corinth, and in 261 Athens surrendered.

Soon after this the moment came for the other federal state which played, together with the Aetolian, the principal part in Greece during these last days of Greek freedom to show itself a power—the Achaean League. The rich city of Sicyon was, like many other city states of Greece, being governed in 252 by a 'tyrant' in the Macedonian interest. In May, 251, a band of Sicyonians who, as enemies of the tyrant, had been living in exile, broke into the city by night and proclaimed a restoration of the republican constitution. The tyrant fled and Sicyon was free. The leader of this band was a young man called Aratus, who induced Sicyon to join the Achaean League.

The Achaeans, who inhabited the country along the northern sea-board of the Peloponnesus, represented the older population of the Peloponnesus before the Dorian invasion. They were organized as a federal state whose constitution was in general similar to that of the Aetolians. At the head of the Achaean League, as of the Aetolian, was a president general with the title strategos. (Before 255 the annual presidency had been vested in two strategoi.) Sovereignty resided in the mass meeting ('synkletos') held once a year at Aegium, which any citizen over thirty years old of an Achaean city might attend.

By the accession of such a city as Sicyon the Achaean League acquired an importance it had never had before. About the same time the republican movement went through Arcadia. Aristodamos, the tyrant of Megalopolis was assassinated, and Megalopolis became the center for a federation of Arcadian cities, in close understanding with the Achaean state.

The hundred years which followed the accession of Sicyon to the Achaean League were the last hundred years in which independent Greek states carried on war and diplomacy. The intricate vicissitudes of that story cannot be told here, only its main outlines noted. In Greece we have four main powers, whose changing relations make up the story—two monarchic powers and two republican. One monarchic power was the kingdom of Macedonia. We must consider Macedonia now as a genuinely Greek power. The other monarchic power was the old Greek state of Sparta.

The two republican powers were the Aetolian League and the Achaean League. Besides these four there are a number of minor states—the Boeotians, the Eleans, the Messenians, the Acarnanians—attached now to one, now to another of the four main powers. None of these four powers was a city state, like the states, other than Sparta, which had played the great parts in the days before Alexander. The Greek states which now make history are states with a considerable territorial area—monarchies or 'Leagues.' Athens still existed, the leading city of the Greek world of culture; but Athens had no military power after 261, and down to its siege by Sulla in

87 B.C. counted for little in international politics.

The story of these hundred years is a story of almost continuous wars. Each state was largely divided against itself: each contained a faction which, when worsted, looked for support to an enemy state against the dominant faction at home. If the defeated faction was driven into exile and their lands appropriated by the victors, the making of peace was complicated by the fact that the return of the exiles meant a fresh internal convulsion consequent upon the redistribution of their old property.

The quarrels between the Greek states gave, of course, various opportunities of interference to the surrounding powers. At the beginning of the period the chief interfering power was the house of Ptolemy. But the king of Egypt only exceptionally landed forces in Greece; his interference mainly consisted in financial help given to one or other of the contending Greek powers. Another outside power that interfered was the state of Pergamum in Asia Minor. Pergamum was a power Asiatic in its territory but quite Hellenic in character. At one time king Antiochus 'the Great,' of the Macedonian dynasty of Seleucus that was reigning in Syria and Mesopotamia invaded Greece and tried to establish his hegemony there.

As time went on, the great republican power of the West, Rome, thrust in and interfered more and more, till at last Greek freedom came to an end. But for many of the Greeks, it must be remembered, subjection to Rome was not a change from freedom to subjection, but a change from one subjection to another —subjection to Rome instead of subjection to Macedonia, or Aetolia or Sparta.

Of the four chief powers of Greece in 250 B.C. Macedonia had the largest area, military resources and wealth. Since the days of Alexander the Great the ambition of the kings of Macedonia had not been to destroy the old free states of Greece, but to retain a predominant influence over the whole country, and if this hegemony of Macedonia was a galling limitation of Greek liberty, the kings of Macedonia might, at any rate, urge that they were always doing a service to the Greek peoples which deserved repayment. Macedonia was the bulwark which protected Greece against the barbarian peoples of the north.

If therefore Macedonia was the strongest power, it was always fighting with this handicap. The nearest region of Greece, Thessaly, was definitely annexed to the Macedonian kingdom; the Thessalian cavalry was a valuable element in the Macedonian armies. Besides this, the Macedonian king's military hold on Greece was mainly conditioned by his possession of the three key-fortresses, Demetrias in the land of the Magnesians, Chalcis in Euboea, and the citadel of Corinth.

The Sicyonian Aratus, who in 251 had brought his native city into the Achaean League, soon rose to the position of greatest influence in the League. In 245-4 he was elected strategos. For the next thirty years (till his death in 214-13) he was the most notable politician in the Greek world, supple and sagacious, and sincere at any rate in his devotion to the Achaean cause. In 243 he achieved a brilliant stroke by a surprise attack on the Macedonian garrison in the citadel of Corinth (Acrocorinthus). Corinth was wrested from Macedonia and attached to the Achaeans. Within a year Megara, Epidauru, Troezen also became Achaean.

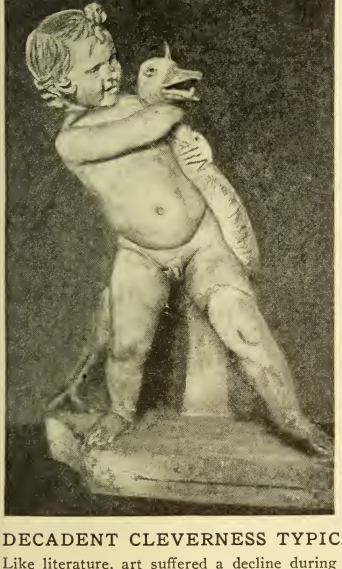
In the grouping of the powers at this moment Sparta, under the young king Agis, was allied with the Achaeans, and the Aetolians with Macedonia. Soon after the accession of Demetrius II to the Macedonian throne (239 B.C.) there was a new grouping of the powers. In Epirus the old dynasty was overthrown and Epirus organized as a federal state. The Aetolians began to seize places which had belonged to Epirus, and this brought them into conflict with Macedonia. The Achaeans are now allies of the Aetolians against Macedonia. In 235 the Achaean League received a new important accession. Lydiadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis, abdicated and brought his city into the League. Like Aratus, he became himself at once a leading man in the League and was strategos in 234-3.

Amongst the allies of Macedonia were the Illyrians, whose piracy roused Rome to action. In 229 a Roman expedition first crossed the Adriatic and gave the Illyrians a severe lesson. As a result,

Corcyra (Corfu), the Greek towns of the Illyrian coast and some of the tribes of the interior came to be embraced in the Roman system of alliances.

King Demetrius II fell in 230-229 defending his northern frontier against the Dardanians. He left an infant son, Philip; the regency was assumed by his cousin, Antigonus, nicknamed Doson, who ruled with the title of king. Antigonus restored some degree of cohesion to the disordered kingdom; but Macedonian influence in Greece had declined. The commander of the Macedonian garrison which held Athens gave back to the Athenians their independence. Aegina joined the Achaean League and Aratus now succeeded in inducing the tyrant of Argos to lay down his power and bring in Argos (229). Events in Sparta, however, gave Antigonus his opportunity.

Wealth and land had come at Sparta to be concentrated in a few hands and the remainder of the community was full of unrest. Projects for social reform had first been put forward in 243 by king Agis, but the opposite party succeeded in frustrating the project and having Agis put to death. Then the project was resumed by the young king of the other royal house, Cleomenes III, who came to the throne in 235. Cleomenes' plans for internal reform went with the ambition to make himself the chief power in the Peloponnesus, and in 229 he began conquering the cities of Arcadia and attacked Megalopolis. This brought on war between Sparta and the Achaean League. In 226 Cleomenes inflicted a severe defeat upon the Achaeans near Dyme. King Ptolemy who had been financing Aratus began to back



DECADENT CLEVERNESS TYPICAL OF HELLENISTIC SCULPTORS

Like literature, art suffered a decline during the Hellenistic period. Although sculptors, for example, possessed brilliant technical ability, imagination gave place to fancy. The two studies shown here are characteristic; both are admirably executed; in both emotional rather than aesthetic qualities predominate. That on the left was copied from a bronze (now lost) by Boethus of Chalcedon (fl. c. 200 B.C.); the cretinous street-boy removing a thorn from his foot came from Priene.

Left, Munich Glyptothek; right, from Wiegand and Schraeder, 'Priene'

Cleomenes. And now came a surprising move by Aratus. He, the great enemy of Macedonia, reversed Achaean policy and made an alliance with Antigonus. As the price of it, Aratus had to agree to give back the newly won citadel of Corinth to Macedonia.

The work of Hellenistic sculptors had often purity of form but seldom genuine beauty. This bronze head from Pergamum (left) has something in common with the best works of Greek sculpture, but is pretty rather than beautiful.

Berlin and Delphi Museums; right, photo, Alinari

In 224 Antigonus led a Macedonian army into the Peloponnesus, and war went on between the Spartans on the one side and combined Macedonians and Achaeans on the other (the 'Cleomenic War'). In the third year of the war (222) Sparta was decisively defeated in the battle of Sellasia, and Cleomenes took refuge in Egypt. The following year Antigonus Doson died in Macedonia.

The young Philip now took up the reins of government (221), and a year later Macedonia was involved in a war with the Aetolians. The Aetolians had thrown forces into Messene, and the Achaeans called upon Philip for help. Almost all the free Greek states were joined with Macedonia in this war against the Aetolians, which is therefore known as the 'War of the Allies.' In the Peloponnesus the Achaeans fared badly against the Aetolian forces, but both in 219 and in 218 Philip invaded Aetolia itself, and in the second invasion destroyed the precinct of Thermum, where the popular assembly of the Aetolian League met. In 217 peace was brought about by the mediation of Rhodes.

In the next war (212-205) the Romans took part, as allies of the Aetolians against Philip. Hence we call this war, from the Roman point of view, the 'First Macedonian War.' The Romans at this time had too much on their hands in Italy to act effectually in Greece, and after 208 seem to have taken little part. Hence the Aetolians were hard pressed by the Macedonians, and in 206, to the displeasure of Rome, they made a separate peace. In the following year peace was concluded between Macedonia and Rome—the 'Peace of Phoenice' (205). The peace maintained the status quo in Greece, as far as the territories and possessions of the several powers went, without important change. It only left a strong feeling against Philip in the Greek world.

In the Peloponnesus war between the Achaeans and Spartans was continued in the years following the Peace of Phoenice.

In 202 and 201 Philip's activity was turned in a new direction. An infant, Ptolemy V, had just succeeded to the throne of Egypt; Philip and the Seleucid king, Antiochus III, in concert, fell upon the Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor. Philip conquered part of Caria which had been subject to Ptolemy, and thereby came into conflict with Rhodes. A quarrel also broke out between Philip and Athens. Soon the Ptolemaic court, Rhodes, Athens and the king of Pergamum were all appealing to Rome. Rome thought that the time had come when she must deal drastically with Macedonia.

The 'Second Macedonian War' began in 200 B.C. At the beginning of it Philip showed the kind of man he was

by destroying with the barbarity of a vandal the land of Attica, rich in beautiful things.

In 198 the consul who took command of the Roman army in Greece was Titus Quinctius Flamininus, an ardent philHellene. Soon after the advent of 'Titus'—as the Greeks usually called him without addition—the Achaeans determined to come in on the side of Rome. The Spartans and Boeotians followed suit. In the end all the Greeks stood with Rome against Macedonia, except the Thessalians, who were practically part of the Macedonian kingdom, and the Acarnanians, who had always seen in Macedonia their champion against the Aetolians. The decisive battle was fought in 197 at Cynoscephalae ('Dog's Heads') in Thessaly—a crushing defeat for Philip which left him no choice but to accept the Roman terms.

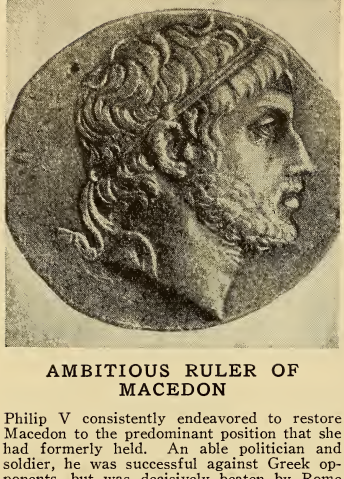
After this, although the Aetolians clamored to go on with the war till the reigning house of Macedonia was utterly overthrown, Titus made peace. All the Greeks were to be 'free,' which meant that no Greek city was to be held by a Macedonian garrison. When Titus at the Isthmian games of 196 proclaimed the freedom of those Greek states which had been subject to Macedonia, the multitude present were beside themselves with emotion. But the Aetolians were inclined to sneer; it was cant for the Romans to talk about the freedom of Greece so long as they retained the three key-fortresses, Demetrias, Chalcis and Acrocorinthus. Yet, after the Congress of Corinth (spring, 194), Titus—such was his zeal for Greek freedom—withdrew the Roman garrisons from the three fortresses.

The Greeks were soon fighting each other again. In the Peleponnesus war went on between the Achaeans, led by Philopoemen, and the Spartans under Nabis. The Aetolians were left embittered against Rome. They began to look east to the Seleucid power, which had had a surprising revival under Antiochus III, and were soon calling upon the Greek 'Great King' to intervene in Greece. Meantime the Aetolians attempted three great strokes simultaneously on their own account—to get possession of Demetrias, of Sparta and of Chalcis. They succeeded only in getting Demetrias. Though, in their sudden raid on Sparta, they killed King

SPECIMENS OF THE ART PRODUCED IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Slavish accuracy and ingenious composition redeem to some extent the preciousness of Hellenistic sculpture. In the peasant woman (right) the intricacies of the drapery are more carefully modeled than the figure; but the old shepherdess, from Alexandria, has genuine feeling.

Conservatori, Rome, Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Museo delle Terme, Rome; photos, Mansell and Anderson



AMBITIOUS RULER OF MACEDON

Philip V consistently endeavored to restore Macedon to the predominant position that she had formerly held. An able politician and soldier, he was successful against Greek opponents, but was decisively beaten by Rome in 197 B.C.

From G. F. Hill, "Select Greek Coins," G. Van Oest, Paris

Nabis, their force was exterminated by the furious Spartans; Philopoemen intervened and Sparta joined the Achaean League. To win Chalcis the Aetolians failed.

In 192 Antiochus landed in Greece. His allies in Greece were the Aetolians, and the Peloponnesian allies of the Aetolians; the Messenians, that is, and the Eleans. The Greeks generally preferred to wait events. The slaughter of a small Roman contingent at Delium by the Seleucid commander made a casus belli between Antiochus and Rome. Before the Romans could strike effectively, Antiochus achieved some successes. He possessed himself of Chalcis, he won over the Boeotians and got a number of towns in Thessaly. But the great armies expected from Asia never arrived, and the Aetolians proved capable of little.

Philip, whatever resentment he may have felt against Rome, was yet more incensed against the king of the rival Macedonian house, who was attempting to supplant him in Greece, and he did his part as an ally of Rome. When in 191 the consul, Acilius, had entered Thessaly with a Roman army, Antiochus and the Aetolians could offer but a sorry resistance. The Seleucid king tried to make a stand in the pass of Thermopylae, but a Roman detachment under Marcus Cato turned the position, and the phalanx of Antiochus was cut down. The king himself escaped, and with those portions of his forces that he could still gather together went back to Asia. Thither, into his own dominions, a Roman army followed him, and next year shattered the Graeco-Asiatic army of Antiochus near Magnesia-on-Sipylus in Asia Minor (190 B.C.). The Seleucid had to renounce all his dominions north of the Taurus, which the Romans made over to the king of Pergamum.

War went on between Rome and the Aetolians till 189. Then the Romans granted a peace unexpectedly lenient. The leniency of the Romans was due to their consciousness that a fresh storm was brewing in Macedonia.

In 186-5 the question became acute between Philip and Rome; a dispute arose as to which of the conquests that he had made in the last war as an ally of Rome Philip was to give back. The Macedonian crown prince, Philip's son Demetrius, stood for friendship with Rome, and the relations between father and son became strained. Philip had another son, Perseus, who supported his father's anti-Roman projects. In 179 Philip was induced to believe falsely that Demetrius was conspiring against him and had him assassinated. Perseus was now sure of the inheritance, but Philip discovered the fraud and Perseus fled to Thrace. Before, however, Philip could complete arrangements for making a cousin the heir, he died at the comparatively early age of 58 (179 B.C.), and Perseus succeeded.

One result of the last war had been that the whole of the Peloponnesus had become Achaean. It fell to Philopoemen, the leading man of the League, to reorganize the state in its new extension. Sparta was still full of unrest, and in 188 Philopoemen intervened with a strong hand. After some bloodshed it was arranged that the old constitution of Lycurgus should be abolished and Sparta adopt the Achaean laws. The Spartans appealed to Rome, and Roman commissioners appeared in the Peloponnesus to

adjust the quarrels between the various Spartan parties and the Achaeans according to the mind of Rome. Friction resulted between Rome and the Acheans. At Roman instigation, Messene revolted from the League. Philopoemen was captured and compelled to drink hemlock (183 B.C.). The Acheans aroused themselves to vengeance and Messene was reconquered. In Sparta there were fresh outbreaks of trouble and fresh appeals to Rome.

In the Achaean states two parties now came to be sharply marked off, the party which desired to maintain an independent attitude with regard to Rome, headed by Lycortas and the party which advocated complete subservience to Rome, headed by Callicrates. In 179 Callicrates was sent as ambassador to Rome on the Spartan question. He secured a compromise by which the laws of Lycurgus were restored, but Sparta remained in a loose connection with the League.

Perseus of Macedon inherited from his father a reorganized army and a replenished treasury. But he shrank from a conflict with Rome and tried to keep the peace. The Romans, however, had now made up their minds that, whatever Perseus did, an end must be put to the Macedonian kingdom. In 171 they declared war; nothing but an unconditional surrender would satisfy them. Perseus saw no choice but to fight.

The war—the 'Third Macedonian War'—was decided in 168 by the battle of Pydna, in which the consul Aemilius Paullus inflicted upon Perseus an irreparable defeat. Macedonia was not yet made a Roman province but was divided into four separate republics. Perseus was carried a prisoner to Italy, where he died.

The hand of Rome fell heavily upon the Greek states in which sympathy with Perseus had been shown. Rhodes was punished till it grovelled; the Aetolians had to give up everything outside their own mountain country. Rome did not yet undertake to govern Greece directly. It only secured that the ruling men in each state should belong to the rich class, and be men absolutely subservient to the will of Rome.

In Macedonia the settlement made after Pydna did not long endure. Pretenders arose who claimed to be of royal blood and caused fresh trouble. In 148, the Romans made the whole of Macedonia a province under a Roman governor. It is strange that even at this date a wave of popular passion could cause a number of Greek states to engage on a mad, hopeless fight with the new masters of the world. It began in 149 with the old trouble between the Achaeans and Spartans. The Spartans tried to get Rome to interfere in their favor, and the Achaeans were resolved to settle the Spartan business themselves, without reference to Rome.

War followed, and the Achaeans were joined by the Boeotians, Locrians and Euboeans; the Aetolians stood aloof. Rome crushed the Greeks easily. An army of Achaeans and allies was annihilated by Metellus in central Greece. Before 146 was out, the consul, Lucius Mummius, had taken Corinth, and the Achaean League lay prostrate. Corinth the Romans utterly destroyed; its whole population was sold into slavery, and its works of art defaced or taken to Rome. For a century the site of the great and ancient city was a field of ruins.

After 146 Greece was definitely a subject country. It was not till later that it was constituted the Roman province of 'Achaea'; at first it was annexed to Macedonia. The different Greek peoples had their separate treaties with Rome, which compelled them for the most part to pay tribute. Sparta was given exceptionally favorable terms. The Achaean League was reduced once more to the

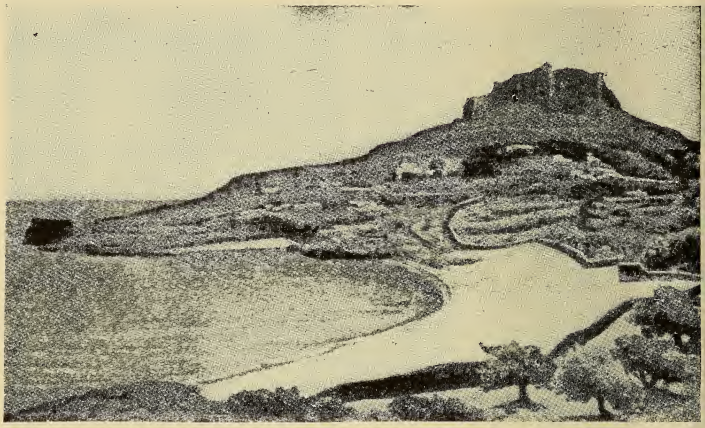
LAST MACEDONIAN KING

The successor of Philip V was his bastard son Perseus, who obtained the throne by intrigue. Forced into war with Rome, he showed ability, but was defeated (168) and taken captive, when Macedon was carved into four republics.

From J. Ward, 'Greek Coins' (John Murray)

old Achaean country. Other federations —the Aetolian, Phocian, Locrian, Elean, Messenian—continued to exist and manage their own internal affairs. But they were no longer free to fight each other.

Rome had come into a land whose peoples, left to themselves, were perpetually engaged in mutual war and destruction. At first the Roman Peace, even if it meant foreign rule, seemed a relief. The material well-being of the land may have gained for a time. But the domination of the richer class, now secure in all Greek states, led to increasing impoverishment of the rest of the community and the population of Greece declined. Then Roman merchants, capitalists, speculators came to settle on a country which their privileged position enabled them to exploit, and the Greeks forgot the evils which had marred their freedom, and saw the past, transfigured in memory, only as a great age which would never return.



ONCE THE HARBOR OF A PROSPEROUS RHODIAN CITY

Rhodes, an island state that had early become an important commercial center, was, immediately after the death of Alexander the Great, the predominant maritime power in the Aegean. The aggressive policy of Philip V of Macedon, however, brought him into collision with Rhodes, whose government appealed to Rome, thus precipitating the Second Macedonian War. The bay shown above, guarded by the bluff on which stood the citadel, was the north harbor of Lindus, a Rhodian city.

Third Era
THE WORLD STATE

201 B.C.—A.D. 476

CHRONICLE VIII—The New Age of Roman Conquest, 201-133 B.C.

49. The Spirit of Republican Rome *Joseph Wells*
50. The War-craft of the Romans *T. Rice Holmes, D.Litt.*
51. The Religion of the Latins *Cyril Bailey*
52. Greek Culture Comes to Rome *Prof. R. S. Conway, Litt.D.*

CHRONICLE IX—Rome's Expansion and Her Rival Generals, 133-31 B.C.

53. Fabric of the Roman State *Prof. H. Stuart-Jones*
54. Social Life under the Republic *Prof. F. H. Marshall*
55. From the Gracchi to Augustus *F. A. Wright*

CHRONICLE X—The Shaping of the Roman Empire, 31 B.C.-A.D. 98

56. The New Imperial Idea *Joseph Wells*
57. Latin and its Literature *Prof. J. Wight Duff, D.Litt.*
58. Paganism & the Philosophies *The Very Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D.*
59. The Flourishing of Art and Architecture *H. B. Walters*
60. The Fall of Jerusalem and its Significance *Prof. W. A. Elmslie*

CHRONICLE XI—The Empire in Its Grandeur, A.D. 98-211

61. A Roman Citizen Surveys the World *Hugh Last*
62. A Day in the Life of Imperial Rome *Prof. F. H. Marshall*
63. Rome the Builder *Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, F.S.A.*
64. Later Greek Science *Charles Singer*
65. The Rival Religions *The Very Rev. W. R. Inge*
66. China's Expansion *Lionel Giles, D.Litt.*

CHRONICLE XII—The Empire in Decline, A.D. 217-330

67. Trade and Commerce of the Roman World *G. H. Stevenson*
68. Britain as a Roman Province *Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B.*
69. Rome the World's Law Giver *Prof. F. de Zulueta, D.C.L.*
70. Alexandrine Literature and Learning *Edwyn Bevan*
71. The Triumph of Christianity *The Very Rev. W. R. Inge*

CHRONICLE XIII—The Sundering Empire, A.D. 330-476

72. The Germanic Invaders *W. O. L. Copeland*
73. Decay of the Western Power *Norman Baynes*
74. What the Modern World Owes to Rome *Cyril Bailey*

What we saw Alexander the Great attempting in Chapter 6 it fell to the lot of Rome to achieve. Alexander, it is true, penetrated farther to the eastward than Roman sway ever extended, but the underlying ambition of his campaigns (which would undoubtedly have included the West had his life been spared) was by stilling its internecine quarrels to liberate Hellenism for the task of civilizing the world. His death cut short his schemes; but Rome, after absorbing Greek culture, and by her own native genius for organization, created the "World State" in microcosm through which Hellenism was transmitted to posterity.

In this Era we trace the fortunes and the social significance of that Empire, through the two distracted centuries of its formation under the Republic, the two centuries of its splendor under the first Caesars, and its more than two centuries of slow decline down to the deposition of the last emperor—a period of some six hundred years that no other empire has exceeded (since only at intervals has China been an empire, properly so called), and that had a continuation at Byzantium for a further thousand years.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE VIII

Unless otherwise stated in italics, dates refer to events in the Graeco-Roman world

B.C.

201 Rome annexes Spanish Carthage.
Numidia independent under Masinissa.
Philip of Macedon invades Ionia.

200 Philip attacks Attica. Rome declares war.
Athens relieved by Roman fleet.
Rising of Boii and Insubres in Gaul.

198 Flamininus in Thessaly. Achaean League joins the Roman alliance.
Antiochus recovers Cœle-Syria from Egypt.

197 Decisive Roman victory at Cynosephalae.
Gauls defeated in Italy.
Rome organizes provincial governments in Sicily, Sardinia, and the two Spains.

196 Peace terms granted to Insubres (Trans-Po); the Boii remain in arms.
Peace terms with Philip as a dependent ally.
Flamininus proclaims the Freedom of Greece at the Isthmian Games.

195 Hannibal, exiled, joins Antiochus, to form a coalition against Rome.
M. Porcius Cato in Spain.

193 Ptolemy V marries Cleopatra.

192 Antiochus III crosses to Greece. Beginning of Syrian War. Philip sides with Rome. Roman fleet, in conjunction with Rhodes, Pergamum, etc., commands the Aegean.

191 Antiochus routed at Thermopylae; he retreats to Asia Minor.
Final subjugation of the Boii in Italy.

190 L. Scipio (Asiaticus), in command against Antiochus; whose fleet is shattered at Myonnesus, and his army at Magnesia.
Manlius Vulso, of his own authority, conducts a victorious campaign in Galatia, for which he is awarded a triumph.

189 Antiochus is deprived of Asia Minor and of his fleet, and Armenia is made an independent kingdom.
Roman colony planted at Bononia (Bologna).
Final subjugation of the Aetolians.

187 Death of Antiochus III. Seleucus IV king.

185 Ligurian highlanders in N. Italy maintain war for twenty years.
Scipio Africanus retires from public life.
India: Bridhatratha, the last Maurya, killed by Pushyamitra who founds the Sunga dynasty of Magadha. Brahman reaction against Buddhism.

184 Roman colony of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic.
Censorship of M. Portius Cato "the Censor."

183 Death of Scipio Africanus.
Death of Hannibal in Bithynia.
Death of Philopœmen.

181 Romans in Spain. Great defeat of the Celtiberians by Fulvius Flaccus.
Accession of Ptolemy VI Philometor. His mother Cleopatra regent till 173.

179 Pacification of Spain by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (father of the Gracchi).

178 Macedon; death of Philip V and accession of Perseus.

175 Gracchus in Sardinia.
Accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
India: Repulse of a Greek conqueror (Menander?) by Pushyamitra of Magadha.

173 Death of Cleopatra; quarrel of the government with Antiochus IV over rights in Cœle-Syria.

172 Attempted assassination of Eumenes of Pergamum attributed to Perseus of Macedon.

171 Third Macedonian War begins.

170 Antiochus takes Pelusium and retires.
China: Wen Ti emperor till 157; period of revival of learning and humanitarian legislation.

169 Philometor shares the crown of Egypt with his brother Ptolemy Physcon. Second invasion by Antiochus.

168 Intervention of Roman envoys in Egypt; the "circle of Popillius"; Antiochus retires, and sacks Jerusalem. Revolt of the Hasmonaeans (Maccabees) led by Mattathias.
Macedonian war; Perseus crushed at Pynda by Aemilius Paullus.

167 End of Macedonian monarchy. Macedon divided into four dependent republics.
Aemilius Paullus deals mercilessly with Epirus.
A thousand Achaean hostages, Polybius being one, are taken to Italy.

166 Massalia appeals to Rome for aid against Gauls.
Syria: Judas Maccabaeus, son of Mattathias, leads the Jewish insurgents.

165 Judas Maccabaeus takes and holds Jerusalem.

164 Death of Antiochus Epiphanes; the Syrian monarchy in dissolution.
Ptolemy Philometer, appealing to Rome, is reinstated as sole king.

161 Roman treaty with Judas Maccabaeus.
Death of Judas. He is succeeded by his brother Jonathan.

160 *India:* Meander reigns at Kabul till c. 140.

154 Ligurians, raiding Gaul, defeated by Opimius.

153 Revolts of Celtiberians and Lusitanians in Spain, owing to misrule of Roman governors.

151 Lucullus in Spain breaks faith with the Spaniards. Treacherous massacre of Lusitanians by Galba.
Remnant of Achaean hostages repatriated; they stir up hostility to Rome.

149 War declared against Carthage (Third Punic War).
Death of Masinissa, and partition of Numidia.
Revolt of Andriscus (Pseudo-Philippus) in Macedon. Fourth Macedonian War.

148 Andriscus crushed by Metellus Macedonicus. Macedon made a Roman Province.

147 Achaean League attacks Sparta. Rome intervenes.
Scipio (Africanus Minor) sent to command in Africa.

146 Siege and fall of Carthage, which is obliterated, and its site solemnly cursed.
Roman Province of Africa constituted.
Corinth taken and sacked by Mummius.
Greece constituted Roman Province of Achaea.
Ptolemy VII Physcon succeeds Philometor.

143 Viriathus heads Lusitanian insurgents (S. Spain); Numantia revolts in the north.

142 Hasmonaean dynasty in Judaea established, under Simon, last of the brothers.

141 Senate ratifies peace with Viriathus.

140 Viriathus assassinated. War renewed.

139 *Asia:* Yueh-chi (Scythians) on the Oxus.
China: Mission of Chang Ch'ien to Yueh-chi.

138 Lusitanians subdued by Decimus Brutus.

137 Numantians compel Mancinus and Roman army to capitulate; terms negotiated by Tib. Gracchus repudiated by Senate. War continues.

136 Decimus Brutus in Galicia.

135 Outbreak of great slave revolt in Sicily.

134 Numantia war; Scipio sent to command.

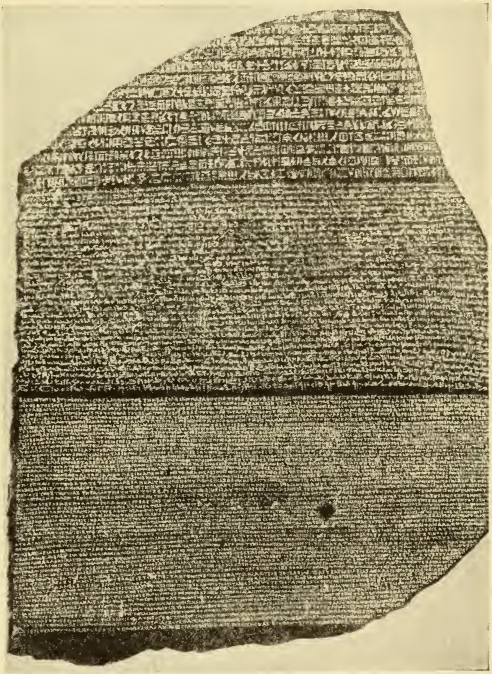
133 Surrender of Numantia, which is obliterated.
Death of Attalus III of Pergamum, who bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman People. First territorial possession of Rome in Asia.
Tiberius Gracchus elected Tribune of the Plebs.

Chronicle VIII

THE NEW AGE OF ROMAN CONQUEST: 201—133 B.C.

When Zama had been lost and won, and Carthage had accepted the terms dictated by the victorious Scipio, Rome was without even a potential rival to her power on land or sea west of the Adriatic. Her supremacy over all Italy south of the Po was consolidated; she was undisputed mistress of Sicily; Carthage was disarmed, and all her dependencies in Africa or in Spain were dependencies of Rome; the only native potentate in Africa who could bring a strong force into the field, Masinissa of Numidia, was a friend and ally whose dominion she had herself helped to extend. The Cisalpine Gauls of North Italy, the Transalpine Gauls of what is now France, the semi-Gallic Celtiberian tribes of Spain, owed her no allegiance; but none of them had passed beyond the stage of tribal confederation to the institution of a definite polity. Their gradual subjection to the organized power was merely a question of time—though actually of a longer time than might reasonably have been anticipated at the conclusion of the Second Punic War.

Turning to the East: three Great Powers were masters of what had been for a brief moment the empire of Alexander—Macedon in its European part, and Syria (the Seleucids) in Asia, the third power being Egypt under the Macedonian dynasty of the Ptolemies, still dominant in Cœle-Syria and parts of the Asiatic coast. Rome had already been brought into hostile contact with the first, and friendly contact with the third; for the Ptolemies looked to her as a counterpoise to the Antigonids and Seleucids. Not only had Ptolemy IV Philopator renewed with Rome in 210 the treaty of



STONE THAT IMMORTALIZES A PTOLEMY

Set up at Memphis to commemorate the coronation of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, the Rosetta stone is inscribed with a decree in Greek and Egyptian. It was from this bilingual record, which is set down in three scripts—Greek, hieroglyphic and demotic—that modern archæologists learned to read the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

British Museum

amity made by his grandfather in 273, but on his death in 205 the guardianship of his five-year-old son and heir, Ptolemy V Epiphanes, had been offered by the regency to the Roman Senate, and accepted while Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus III of Syria were coming to a

WARD OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Rome became the guardian of Ptolemy V (left) on the death of his father (205 B.C.) Its attitude towards Egypt is suggested in the denarius (right) showing a Roman "tutor," Lepidus, crowning Ptolemy—probably a fictitious event.

From J. Ward, "Greek Coins," and G. F. Hill, "Historical Roman Coins"

private agreement for the sharing of the infant's dominions between Macedon and Syria. Virtually, though not technically, Egypt had already become a Roman protectorate.

Carthage was no longer a power in east or west; she might with perfect safety be neglected.

Sixty years after the battle of Zama Carthage had been leveled with the ground; the kingdom of Egypt was nominally the ally, actually the dependency, of Rome; Macedon and Greece were Roman provinces administered by Roman governors; and the Seleucids had been cleared out of Asia Minor for good and all. For every step Rome could persuade herself that more than sufficient justification had been provided by the victims, but the victims were not of the same opinion.

Two years had not elapsed since the battle of Zama when war was for the second time declared between Rome and Macedon. The peace of 205 had never been more than an armed truce; though the war preceding it had never assumed large proportions, since on the part of Rome it had been simply a diversion to prevent Philip from giving Hannibal active support in Italy. Just as Philip had been seduced into seeking an aggressive alliance with Hannibal by the crushing victory of the Carthaginians at Lake Trasimene in 217, the Roman victory on the Metaurus in 207 had soon convinced him that nothing was to be gained by continuing active hostilities, though he sent a contingent to the help of the Carthaginians in their last hopeless struggle. But no Roman government, however pacifically disposed, could have shut its eyes to the fact of his hostility to Rome; and a government not pacifically disposed was quite certain to make the most of any activities on the part of Philip which could bear a suspicious interpretation.

Philip's purpose of consolidating and extending his despotic rule over the nominally free cities of Greece, the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor, was scarcely disguised. In 201 he carried troops across the Hellespont and set about the conquest of Caria, where after some successes he was shut up for a time by the united efforts of the Rhodian fleet and Attalus, king of Pergamum. Thence he escaped, to find Athens and other Greek cities breaking way (200) and appealing to Rome, to whose remonstrances he replied in defiant terms. The Roman people had had its fill of fighting, and refused to declare war until bluntly warned by the Senate that the real choice before them was not between war and peace but between war in Macedon or in Italy. In the character of liberator, Rome declared war.

It was tolerably clear that the Greeks could not throw off the yoke of Macedon without the help of Rome, and that if they did not throw it off it would weigh them down with a merciless oppression. Whether in ridding themselves of the Macedonian bear they would merely be falling into the maw of the Roman wolf was a question not so easily answered. Those who were in the most immediate danger from Philip made their choice without hesitation; others were doubtful; others were fast in the grip of Philip's creatures.

The campaigning in 200 and 199 was ineffective. In 198 the command of the Roman and allied army was taken by Titus Quinctius Flamininus; and no one

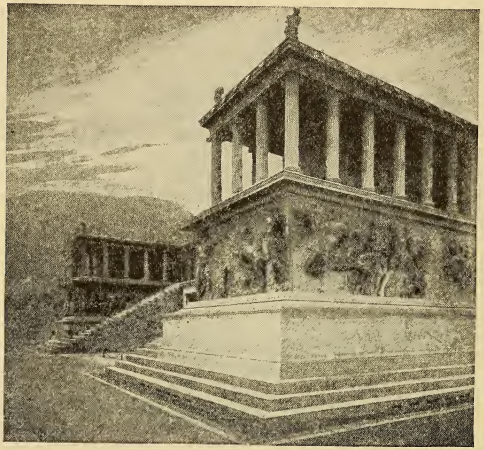
SPHERE IN WHICH THE INFLUENCE OF ROME BECAME PREDOMINANT IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

At the beginning of the short period of barely seventy years dealt with in this chapter Rome had become one of the great powers, and the Mediterranean rang with her defeat of Carthage; but the Greek and the Roman worlds were still separate, standing back to back on opposite sides of a line running down the Dalmatian coast and so to Africa. The map above covers both this and the following chapters.

save the great Scipio was so well qualified for the task. He succeeded in winning over the Achæan League, which had been reluctant to join hands with the rival Ætolian Leagues, the allies of Rome from the beginning. Negotiations with the king proved fruitless, since the demands of the Roman on behalf of the allies would have practically deprived Philip of all control of Greece. But in 197 Flamininus was able to bring Philip to a decisive engagement at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly, where the Macedonian phalanx was thrown into disorder in attempting an advance over broken ground, the Roman seized the momentary advantage, and Philip's army was annihilated.

After Cynoscephalæ Flamininus could dictate his own terms—to his Greek allies no less securely than to the vanquished foe, whom he chose to treat with a generosity by no means to the liking of more vindictive enemies. Philip was to remain king of Macedon and to pay a heavy indemnity, leaving his son Demetrius and other hostages in Rome; he was to withdraw his garrisons from the three towns which he himself named "the Fetters of Greece"—Chalcis, Corinth and Demetrias in Bœotia. They passed into the occupation of Roman troops.

The full terms, however, were not immediately known; they could be laid down finally only by the Roman Senate, and all Greece waited anxiously to hear what measure of freedom would be granted; for it had known no real freedom since the days of Philip II. The celebration of the common Hellenic festival of the Isthmian Games at Corinth in 196 was the scene and hour chosen; when the ringing voice of the herald proclaimed, to the amazed delight of the assembled multitude, the independence and freedom of all the Greek states that had been subjected to the rule of Macedon.



The Altar of Zeus, built by Eumenes II, was the crowning glory of Pergamum. Here shown reconstructed, it stood on a huge base, surrounded on three sides by colonnades and approached on the fourth by a staircase. A frieze over 150 yards long, brilliantly executed and superb in effect, ran round the base.
State Museum, Berlin

Two more years elapsed before Flamininus could leave Greece in the belief that his task was accomplished, withdrawing the Roman garrisons even from the Fetters of Greece. And even then the freedom he left behind him was an illusion.

THE Ætolians, the most bitter and the most ambitious of Philip's enemies, had been treated with scant regard by Flamininus and were now angrily hostile towards Rome, though powerless to act against her; they and others who shared their sentiments found a new ally in the ambitious king of Syria, who had hoped to make his own profit out of the Macedonian war by annexing the eastern territories over which either Philip or the child Ptolemy had claim or held sway. Hannibal attempted to reorganize Carthage after her humiliation had been frustrated, and the great captain, driven into exile but still relentlessly bent on the overthrow of Rome, made his way to Antiochus, at Ephesus, seeking to build up a new coalition against his lifelong foe. From the Ætolians came a mission with

the same object. Antiochus viewed the scheme with favor; under Hannibal's direction, it would have been very formidable. But it was ruined from the outset by the blundering impetuosity of the Ætolians, and the jealousy, the egotism and the arrogant folly of Antiochus.

Encouraged by the favorable attitude of the king of Syria, the Ætolians and their ally Nabis, the unspeakable tyrant who had long been established in Sparta, where he was thoroughly hated, struck at once (192); but they only succeeded in capturing Demetrias (one of the three "Fetters") and driving the Achæan League into active opposition under the still effective leadership of Philopœmen. With equal recklessness Antiochus threw overboard the large scheme of the Carthaginian, and, all unready as he was, flung himself into Greece with a wholly insufficient force, ignoring Hannibal altogether, and heedless of the fact that Athens and the Achæans were unshaken in their loyalty to Rome.

Early in the next year (191) Roman armies, Philip cooperating, were entering Thessaly. To protect the south Antiochus occupied the historic pass of Thermopylæ. There his forces were shattered by the Romans under Marcus Porcius Cato, type of the Roman equivalent of Puritanism. Antiochus escaped with a remnant only of his force to Chalcis, and thence to Asia.

Thither he was followed next year (190) by a Roman army under the command of Lucius Scipio, the less distinguished elder brother of Africanus; the Phœnician fleet having in the meantime been swept off the Ægean by the combi ed Roman and Rhodian squadrons, at the battle of Myonnesus. Near Magnesia, the huge but very miscellaneous host he had managed to collect was annihilated in a battle in which the Roman losses were computed at four hundred, and those of Antiochus at 53,000. Again the monarch escaped with his life; but now he could only sue for peace on such terms as the victors might be pleased to grant. Those terms left him his kingdom of Syria; but in addition to the payment of a heavy indemnity he was required to surrender forever his fleet, his elephants and all his possessions north and west of the Taurus mountains. Thus was the last power shattered which might, under other guidance, still have remained a possibly

WARRING GODDESS DEPICTED ON THE ALTAR OF ZEUS

Noble in conception and execution, the frieze on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamum represents the Battle of Gods and Giants—a subject emblematic of the city's struggles against the Gauls. In this section, typical in its animation, we see a goddess in the act of hurling a snake-wreathed jar.

State Museum, Berlin

formidable rival to Rome. Hannibal escaped to Prusias, king of Bithynia, and not long afterwards (183) ended his own life, since Prusias was on the point of surrendering him to the Romans.

The expulsion of Antiochus from Asia Minor was followed by an episode not without future significance. Lucius Scipio withdrew to Rome to receive a triumph and the hardly deserved title of Asiaticus, as his brother's great achievement had won for him that of Africanus. The eastern command devolved upon the new consul, Manlius Vulso, who, thirsting for military honors, discovered that the Galatians had fought in the armies of Antiochus—conduct obviously requiring punishment, the infliction of which incidentally offered promise of much booty accumulated by them in the course of half a century of brigandage. Accordingly Manlius declared war on his own responsibility, a course of action for which there was no precedent, smote the Celts in a vigorous campaign, carried off plentiful spoils, and was rewarded with a triumph, despite the protests of those who condemned his action as flagrantly unconstitutional.

Rome, as conqueror of the aggressive king of Syria, did not, however, as yet claim for herself any Asiatic soil; but the bulk of what Antiochus had held in Asia Minor was handed over to Eumenes of Pergamum, the successor of Attalus. He, like his father, had held fast by the Roman alliance and rendered good service in the recent war, as Attalus had done against Macedon. The result was the creation of a brilliant kingdom that figures little in contemporary narrative owing to its wise policy of friendship to Rome, but in all other respects now takes equal rank with the other "successor states." Pergamum itself rivaled Alexandria as a seat of learning and the arts.

Meanwhile there had been no change in the ostensible policy of Rome in Greece. Having intervened in the war with Antiochus, she could not escape responsibility for the establishment of a just settlement among the jealous and vindictive states that had taken part in the war. It would have been strange indeed if she had allowed the finality of her decisions to be challenged.

What Philip as an ally had taken from the confederates in Thessaly he was permitted to retain; but just as after Cynoscephalæ the Ætolians had not been allowed to wreak their vengeance on Philip, so now they were saved from the vengeance of their most vindictive foes. Like Philip they were given another chance. Cities which had hitherto held aloof from the Achæan League were compelled to join it, but the League itself was somewhat grimly warned that its sphere of action was confined to the Peloponnese, "since a tortoise is safe just so long as it keeps its head within the shell." There was no interference with autonomy, but the governments of the various states were palpably dependent on the good will of the Roman authority. Rome was in actual fact not less mistress of Greece than the great Philip had been master.

Nor was it only in the East that she was preparing the way for imperial expansion during these years. During the decade after Zama the perpetually insurgent Gauls between the Alps and the Apennines were finally subjugated; and soon Roman roads and Roman military colonies were rendering the north of Italy as secure as any part of the peninsula. Before long the whole of what had been the Gallic and Ligurian area, independent of Roman authority, was transformed into the Roman province of Gallia Cisalpina, which, when once peace had been permanently established, became extremely flourishing.

In Farther Gaul, modern France, between the Alps and Pyrenees, Rome had as yet no footing; but the Punic War had planted her in Spain with no rivals other than the native tribal communities. She was therefore mistress of its whole Mediterranean coast, with an undefined amount of the hinterland, but with the government of this territory still to be organized; the authority she enjoyed, however, was at the best dubious, the natives being warlike and by no means amenable to control, while in two-thirds of the peninsula it was non-existent.

Nevertheless, by 197 she had set up the first official machinery of a provincial government, dividing the dominion into a Nearer (the northern) and a Farther (the southern) Province; whereof the immediate result was a general rising of the tribesmen who had the customary objec-

tion to anything like an organized foreign domination. The subjugation of the insurgents was entrusted to Cato, consul in 195, who four years later distinguished himself, as we have already seen, at Thermopylæ. After subjecting his troops to a severe training, in which he did not spare himself, he inflicted a great defeat on the insurgents, and by the severity of his measures and the rapidity of his movements soon brought the whole of the northern province into subjection for the time being; though the Spaniards, resentful of his tyrranical measures, were in arms again as soon as his back was turned. There followed years of constant fighting, which was only at last ended in 179 by the unwontedly conciliatory and sympathetic policy of the prætor, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the chosen son-in-law of Scipio and, later, the father of two still more famous sons.

For several years after the settlement of Asia Minor, Rome was involved in no foreign wars except the military operations against the Ligurians and in Spain. But the uneasiness of the dependent populations under her shadow grew. Philip plotted and schemed, but dared not show open hostility. In 179 he died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who was watched with jealous suspicion by Eumanes of Pergamum. In 172 Eumenes laid before the Roman Senate charges against the king of Macedon. The verdict of the Senate was a foregone conclusion. When an attempt was made to murder Eumenes on his way home, it was assumed that Perseus was the instigator. In 171 Rome declared war.

Careful and unostentatious reorganization had made Macedon much better prepared for war than she had been at any time since Cynoscephalæ. Rome met with no speedy success. In 171 and 170 her consular armies under Crassus and Mancinus were defeated. But in 168 the command was given to an old and tried chief, Æmilius Paullus, the brother-in-law of Africanus and father of the boy whom the son of Africanus adopted. He reorganized the forces and at Pydna won a victory as overwhelming as that of Cynoscephalæ. A few weeks later the unhappy Perseus, deserted and betrayed by his followers, came into the camp of the victor and surrendered.

As a power, Macedon was eliminated. The country was divided into four "republics," vassals of Rome, debarred from any political or commercial relations with each other, deprived of all leaders, and thus left to conduct their own administration as best they could under a code of laws formulated by the conqueror. Epirus, which had thrown in its lot with Perseus, was mercilessly punished; no fewer than seventy towns were required to deliver up all the gold and silver they contained, their walls were leveled with the ground and their inhabitants to the number of 150,000 were sold into slavery. Monstrous as such treatment sounds to modern ears, it did not in the least shock the civilized world two thousand years ago; Hannibal had offered almost identical terms to Saguntum when he summoned it to surrender; and the selling of conquered populations into slavery was almost the normal sequel when cities were taken by storm. The more enlightened might deplore such methods, but they excited no denunciation.

The new Macedonian republics were not independent or even dependent states; to all intents they were subject to Rome. And it must be added that Rome showed no sense of responsibility for the welfare of the new subjects brought under her sway, provided that they were held well in hand and were not too much impoverished to be economically useful.

The overthrow of Macedon was followed by another interval during which active expansion was suspended, though just before Pydna Rome had in very significant fashion asserted her effective power in another quarter. Antiochus IV Epiphanes was engaged in a war with Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt (page 220). Rome regarded Egypt as being in some sort under her protection; and the envoy, Popillius Lænas, who had been sent there to warn Antiochus off, peremptorily ordered him to leave the country. When the king asked for time to consider, the envoy traced a circle round him, and then replied that his answer must be given before he crossed that line. Antiochus bowed to the inevitable, and asserted no more claims in Egypt.

Rome, in plain terms, had, since the great days when she was fighting against Carthage with her back to the wall, degenerated into an irresistibly powerful

bully. There was scarcely a pretense of consideration for justice in the Senate's high-handed treatment of nominal allies, or the exploitation by prætors of the subject peoples over whom they were sent to rule during a term of office which was comparatively brief.

THERE were men who preserved the old Roman virtue in its best sense—as the younger Scipio (185-129), the son of Æmilius Paullus; or in its most rigidly narrow sense—as Cato (234-149), who was in fact of the older generation. The doctrines of the Stoic philosophy (derived from contact with the Greeks) tended to preserve and even to elevate the old spirit where they found acceptance; but, on the other hand, the more popular forms of the rival Epicurean teaching fostered the new spirit of moral laxity generated by irresponsible power; and the degradation of the moral standards of life, whether public or private, is the most markedly conspicuous feature of the era of expansion.

INGLORIOUS KINGS OF SYRIA

Succeeding to a kingdom diminished by war, Seleucus IV (top) reigned feebly, and was assassinated in 175. His successor, Antiochus IV, was an unbalanced ruler who drove the Jews to revolt; he died, mad, while warring in Persia.

From J. Ward, "Greek Coins" (John Murray)

The new temper was manifested towards Greece as well as Macedon. The Achæan League had been very lukewarm latterly. Philopœmen, its greatest statesman, had been dead for some years. At the instance of the ambitious intriguer Callicrates, who had sold himself to the Romans, a thousand of the leading Achæans were carried off to Rome in 167, nominally to stand trial on the charge of complicity with Perseus, actually to be detained as prisoners till the Romans chose to liberate the remnant still surviving in 151. The League itself was left in the hands of Callicrates, while in almost every city reigned a tyrant in the service of Rome.

DESPITE the wise measures which had pacified Spain during the governorship of Gracchus, the Roman administration was conducted after his departure on the lines of the new tyranny. Before long, the whole country was seething with hatred of its new masters, and prætors or consuls who could barely hold their own in the field against the hardy tribesmen did not hesitate to save their authority by acts of the grossest treachery which the degenerate Senate did not fail to endorse; though not without vigorous protest from old Cato and men of like mind, who were as honest as they were pitiless. The evil seed was to bear bitter enough fruit in due season.

But now the hour was at hand for the playing of the last act in the tragedy of Greece and the tragedy of Carthage.

In the years that followed the fall of Perseus, Macedon and Greece had sunk into a sad welter of misrule. Whether intentionally or not, the effect of the Roman methods was almost the disappearance of the very semblance of ordered government. In 149 there appeared in Macedon a claimant to the throne, calling himself Philip and pretending to be the grandson of Philip V. As a matter of course he found supporters, and as a matter of course he was suppressed as soon as Rome took the affair seriously.

But, before she did so, the pretender had been allowed to achieve some rather

humiliating successes, which encouraged the latest intriguer who had captured an ascendancy in the now miserably disorganized Achæan League to take action against Sparta without referring the cause of quarred to Rome, to whom Sparta, more cautious, appealed. While she was finishing off the Pseudo-Philippus, as the Macedonian pretender was called, Rome dispatched commissioners to the League council assembled at Corinth, to signify her pleasure—and her displeasure. Sparta, Corinth and Argos were to be released from the League's jurisdiction.

The council lost its head and insulted the commissioners. Rome still gave them another chance of making submission to a second commission (147); but the leaders, too deeply committed to hope for pardon themselves, attempted to stir up a necessarily futile war of liberation (146). The Roman army from Macedon marched down to Corinth, dispersing resistance on its way. There the command was taken over by the new consul Mummius. The league commander Diæus offered battle before the walls of Corinth, but his troops broke and fled at the first onset; and Mummius, learning that a garrison still occupied the Acropolis, entered the city and gave it to sack as if it had been carried by storm.

The men were massacred; the women and children were sold into slavery; the art treasures were seized for the state, save where the boorishness of the consul prevented him from recognizing their value—for Mummius achieved for himself a permanent niche in the temple of Stupidity by giving out that if any work of art were damaged the careless workmen would have to replace it with an equivalent; the loot was lavishly distributed; and when nothing removable was left, the beautiful city was given to the flames.

The fiction of independence was over. The precise year in which the formal changes were made is doubtful; but Macedonia (probably) first, and then Greece under the name of Achæa, were very shortly after the destruction of Corinth converted into provinces of the Roman dominion under Roman governors.

In the same year as that in which Corinth perished, Carthage was leveled with the ground, and what was left of her empire became the Province of Africa.

The smiting of Carthage was a measure prompted rather by a vindictive jealousy than by any real political necessity. There was no possibility that Carthage with or without allies would become once more a menace to the Roman state. But by a strict attention to business, the commerce of Carthage revived; humbled and crippled as she had been, she ventured to resist the encroachments of Masinissa, who was as ready at ninety to take the field in person as he had been at forty; the octogenarian Cato proclaimed in the Senate, in and out of season, that "Carthage must be blotted out." And blotted out she was.

The recuperation of Carthage after Zama had given amazing proof of her vitality. With Hannibal in exile, it may be assumed that his political opponents were in power, and the policy alternative to his was to gain Roman friendship if possible, and develop the trading resources, which in any case were beyond Roman reach, and little likely to compete with the produce or industries of Italy.

But Roman friendship was hard to gain. Roman merchants had been obliged by war needs to trade on an even larger scale, and had acquired and created business connections abroad, which they had no mind to neglect in peace time; and they had sufficient influence with their own government to put the worst construction on any complaints that were made concerning the behavior of Carthage.

Now such complaints could hardly fail to come where there was a ready ear for them. In particular, Masinissa had been established as head of an independent Numidian state, "free and allied," with no natural frontier between his country and the home district of Carthage, and with an ambiguous clause in the peace treaty granting him "all that he or his ancestors had ever possessed," which, strictly interpreted, gave him the ground on which Carthage itself was built. It was almost inevitable that there should be border troubles, and that the blame for these should be al-

ways on the city which was prohibited by treaty from "making war in Africa" without the consent of Rome. Hence the persistent claims of Masinissa to the possession of the Libyan Tripolis, with its rich coast plain, and its alternative routes to the south, from Leptis.

Then came for the Romans local troubles in Spain, where Masinissa could, if he tried, be a very dangerous neighbor; and therewith fresh complaints of the wily old Numidian against Carthage. A Roman commission of inquiry and arbitration was sent to Africa in 150, with Marcus Cato at its head, old-fashioned, narrow-minded, unscrupulous; incapable of realizing that the world had changed in the last half-century; firmly convinced that the figs he saw in the market at Carthage proved the necessity for protecting Italian agriculturists by the elimination of their African competitor. On the point immediately at issue, the award was, of course, in favor of Masinissa; the result, further encroachment; and then, what Cato and his friends most desired, reprisals by Carthage and the inevitable Roman intervention. The old man, however, did not live to see the actual fulfillment of his craving.

There was, it is true, a "popular party" in Carthage which had lost patience, and thought that Rome's momentary embarrassment with her Greek allies, and a futile revolt in Macedon, gave a desperate chance of resistance. Wiser heads probably realized that in Africa as in Macedon Roman foreign policy was shifting on to a new basis; that the day of "free and equal allies" was over. Everything short of the worst was offered by the Carthaginian government in mitigation of sentence, and offered in vain. But the Roman commanders had their orders; Carthage was to be destroyed, and its inhabitants interned where they pleased, so long as they were out of reach of the sea.

The effect of this order might have been foreseen. The desperate war party took control of the city; moderate men, who had tried to save what was not already lost, were massacred with the Italian residents, who were by this time numerous; levies were made among those towns and tribes of the neighborhood who felt their own fate inseparable from that of Carthage, and preparations were made for a siege. The Romans made matters worse by allowing time for such measures; then realized their mistake, and closed in on the city, suffering more severely from the marshes, where they made their camp, than from the enemy. It was not until after two years of mismanagement that the younger Scipio Æmilianus, who had already shown unusual ability, was elected, before his time, to be consul and commander-in-chief of the Romans in Africa.

The northern suburbs of Carthage were soon occupied without difficulty, but the shorter lines of defense were stronger and easier to hold; and supplies still came by sea through the Roman blockade. It was only when Scipio had carried out the huge engineering works necessary to close the harbor entrance by a broad embankment, and also defeated the squadron which emerged through a newly dug channel beyond it, that the city was restricted to its own resources. Yet another winter passed before the moment came for an assault, on the merchants' quarter between the citadel and the port. It succeeded, and then from house to house the Romans cut their way up the slope for six days and nights, the ruined town being burned and leveled behind them as they advanced.

Fifty thousand Carthaginians surrendered before the end, and were spared; but the citadel, with the small remnant of heroes and deserters who held it, was burned. The whole site was devastated, solemnly cursed and plowed over, and the smaller cities of Africa likewise. Only Utica, which had surrendered early, remained to be the capital of the new "province of Africa." Numidia remained "free and allied"; but Masinissa was dead at last, and his three sons held separate baronies, and quarreled with each other. The Libyan Tripolis, too, was kept separate from the African province, under Roman administration.

The fate of Carthage was an expression of the same new outlook, mercantile rather than statesmanlike, of responsible people in Rome, which wrecked and despoiled Corinth in the same year as it obliterated Carthage, and remained a

constant danger in all dealings with Greek leagues and succession kingdoms. Senators, it had been long realized, could not be trusted to govern business communities fairly, if they themselves had business interests; on the other hand, business men had their own ways of influencing senatorial government, without sharing its responsibility. The shortcomings of the Roman provincial system in the next hundred years, as well as the worst disorder of Rome's republican decline, are mainly due to this conflict of principles.

Carthage herself had failed to learn the lesson of the Sicilian and Hannibalic Wars. To have ruled in Africa for centuries without acquiring the political experience which could conciliate the Sicilians or Sardinians, or even after a longer period the Spanish peoples which furnished such good citizens to Rome, and without admitting the population even of the home territory to share in the privileges or the responsibilities of government, was a lapse which would have been conspicuous even if there had been only the loosely knit empire of the Persians to contrast with it; compared with the Greek successor kingdoms, still more with the Roman dominion in Italy, it was a failure and a disgrace. She perished apparently unregretted.

While Macedon and Carthage were receiving their coup de grâce, the Spaniards maintained their attitude of stubborn defiance, in spite of the cruel blows dealt them by the perfidy of the consuls Lucullus and Galba in 151 and 150. In the south the Lusitanians found a brilliant guerrilla captain in Viriathus, who in 142 maneuvered the Roman consul Servilianus into a trap, and was able to dictate terms so reasonable in point of fact that they were ratified by the Senate, which even recognized Viriathus as "friend and ally" of the Roman People. Nevertheless, two years later a new consul, Cæpio, not only attacked the friend and ally, with the assent of the Senate, but procured his assassination, a blow from which the Lusitanians did not recover, though they were not further penalized.

No less stubborn was the resistance offered in the north by the Celtiberians, whose principal fortress or city was Numantia, on the borderland of what had been the vague Roman sphere of influence before the Hannibalic War. Here the fighting, temporarily suppressed by Lucullus, broke out again in 143 when Viriathus' campaign was being carried through with most effect. One Roman general, Metellus, the same who had finished off the last Macedonian war but had been superseded in the East by Mummius, held the Spanish command for two years (143-2), and met with much success, but was withdrawn before he could complete the task of pacification. This labor continued to prove too much for one after another of his successors; until in 137 the consul Mancinus was reduced to what was, in fact, a capitulation, the terms of which were negotiated by his quæstor Tiberius Gracchus (c. 169-133); in whom the Spaniards did not hesitate to trust, since he was the son of that Tiberius Gracchus who had made the generous but ill-kept settlement of 179. The Senate, however, with strict legality but doubtful honor, declined to ratify the treaty; and the war was renewed.

Against a foe so indomitable, it was obviously useless to continue the ordinary routine method of appointment to the military command. Rome in 134 turned to her greatest citizen and soldier, the conqueror of Carthage, the second Scipio Africanus. Although he was not a candidate for the consulship and was in fact legally disqualified from standing, his election was carried by the unanimous vote of the Assembly of Tribes, and the legal technicalities were set aside in the face of such an expression of public opinion.

Even for Scipio the task was no easy one. It was not till he had restored by hard training the long-relaxed discipline of the demoralized troops that, in 133, he set about the Numantian campaign, and laid siege to Numantia itself. Like Carthage the doomed fortress held out grimly to the last moment. When there was nothing left to eat but human flesh, it surrendered; and it was then, like Carthage, obliterated; so completely that its very site was forgotten. The work of reorganizing the Spanish provinces was left for others.

We have seen in the east the direct conflict between Rome and Antiochus.

But we have still to observe how during this period the course of events, without Roman intervention, was at the same time preparing the way for Rome's Asiatic expansion during the hundred years following, and setting bounds for it which it never effectively crossed.

The Seleucidæ were, in effect, the representatives of the old Persian Empire, with a Macedonian, instead of a Persian Achæmenid, on the throne of the Great King. At the moment when Antiochus III so rashly flung down his challenge to Rome, his title Megas, the Great, was not a palpable misnomer. He had recovered sovereignty, lost or endangered, westward in Asia Minor and eastward to Trans-Oxiana; and he had forced Egypt to admit his sovereignty, often claimed as her own, in Cœle-Syria; though in order to insure at least her neutrality in the coming struggle, he had just married his daughter Cleopatra to the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes, giving certain revenues drawn from Cœle-Syria as a part of her dower. An incidental consequence of this has already been noticed. When Rome chastised the arrogance of the Great King, she handed over to Rhodes or Pergamum the districts in Asia Minor which Egypt had been wont to claim.

Antiochus III died soon afterwards, in 187. The troubled reign of his elder son, Seleucus IV, was ended by his murder in 175, when he was succeeded by his brother Antiochus IV Epiphanes, known by the gibing nickname of Epimanes (the Madman). He quarreled with the Egyptian government of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-146), because it still claimed the Cœle-Syrian revenues through the king's mother, Cleopatra, was dead. The conquest of Egypt seemed imminent, when the Roman envoy Popillius interposed his veto.

EPIPHANES died, actually and completely mad, as it is said, in 164. The most familiar event in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes is the revolt of the Jews under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus and his kinsmen, a revolt which ultimately won independence from their Syrian, or rather Macedonian, overlord. The Maccabæan wars no doubt played their part in completing the disintegration of the Seleucid power; which, however, could have been saved, if at all, only by a ruler of first rate political and military genius. The fundamental importance of this struggle lies in the fact that if its issue had been different the Jews as a nation with a local habitation and a name would have been blotted out two centuries before this fate actually befell them. For the essential object of the wars was to secure that unique type of nationalism which differentiated the Hebrews from all other peoples.

Now Judæa and Jerusalem, the center of Judaism, lay in that debatable land which had at all times been a bone of contention between the Euphratic and the Egyptian empires and continued to be a bone of contention between Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, while commonly finding itself compelled to acknowledge the Seleucid sovereignty. There was a large Jewish colony in Egypt which patronized by the Ptolemies; consequently the intensely nationalist puritan party among the Jews tended to look to Egypt —to be, in fact, an Egyptian party. The unorthodox, on the other hand, sought and found favor and support from their actual overlord, the Hellenizing Seleucid, against whom the nationalists were the more embittered by the heavy financial demands made on them for the indemnity claimed by Rome from Antiochus after his overthrow at Magnesia.

Religious persecution as such was quite alien to Hellenic ideas; but evidently Antiochus IV, when on the Egyptian expedition, the object of which was so rudely frustrated by Popillius, acquired the conviction that the Jewish puritans were a political danger. On his return in 168 he vented his wrath and disappointment on Jerusalem, which was ruthlessly sacked, and set about the suppression of the religion which appeared to be at once the motive and the binding force of Jewish disaffection. For the Jewish puritans, religious zeal and the fervor of patriotism were welded into one passion.

INSPIRED and led by the old Mattathias, of the Hasmonæan house, the puritans took to the hills and waged a fierce guerrilla warfare against the officers of the persecutor. Mattathias died and the struggle was carried on by his son Judas, surnamed Maccabæus, and his

brethren. Antiochus died, and the Syrian crown was tossed from head to head among claimants, some of the blood royal and some mere adventurers. Judas recovered Jerusalem but was slain in battle in 161. He was followed by his brothers Jonathan and (in 142) Simon, and before the latter was murdered in 135, to be succeeded by his son John Hyrcanus, the Hasmonæan dynasty may be regarded as established. The dynasty, however, was of minor importance, the essential point was that Judaism had been saved.

When Antiochus Megas was expelled from Asia Minor, his sovereignty was still acknowledged not only by the satraps in Media and Persia, but by the native princes who had set up kingdoms in Armenia and Parthia. To Bactria he had conceded independence only because as an independent state it was a buffer between Hellenism and the Scythian barbarians, with whom its Greek rulers threatened to make common cause rather than submit to the Seleucid. The position continued substantially unchanged during the reign of Epiphanes, though he found it necessary to march armies into both Armenia and Persia.

Armenia dropped away, and the Parthian Arsacids not only recovered independence but absorbed Media and Persia into their own dominion, of which the Euphrates became in effect the boundary. The Parthian Empire, which was to prove an endless and unsubduable source of trouble for Rome, had thus definitely come into being only a few years before Rome's first actual acquisition of Asiatic territory.

Greek adventurers from Bactria, notably Menander, set up ephemeral principalities on the Indian frontier. But Bactria itself was already crumbling under the pressure of the nomads from central Asia.

No Bactrian dominion was established in India; Hellenism in its far eastern outpost was submerged and wiped out, leaving only a dim memory of itself here and there among the peoples of the East. India fades out of our vision. Virtually for centuries world history is the history of Rome.

THE SPIRIT OF REPUBLICAN ROME

THE TEMPER IN WHICH THE CITY ON THE TIBER FACED THE PROBLEMS OF ADVERSITY AND SUCCESS

By JOSEPH WELLS

Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, 1913-27; Author of A Short History of Rome

It is natural to choose the second century B.C. as the period in which the spirit of the Roman Republic can be most clearly examined, for by that time the constitution had reached its full development; so Cicero in his political treatise, De Republica ('On the State'), chooses for the interlocutors in his dialogue the greatest statesman of this century, Scipio Aemilianus, and his friends. Into their mouths he puts his own views on the theory and the practice of the Roman constitution, and his views may certainly be taken to represent the views of the average Roman citizen.

The cardinal point in his constitutional views is the supremacy of the Senate; to him, as to most of his countrymen, S.P.Q.R.—Senatus Populusque Romanus—was the proper style of the state; and it will be noted that 'the Senate' comes before 'the People.' The people elected the magistrates; it had the sovereign voice to decide on war and peace; but the Senate and the magistrates generally controlled its decisions.

This arrangement was based upon the principle which is fundamental in everything Roman—the respect for the 'mos majorum,' the custom of our forefathers. A Roman did not wish to change his state, he wanted to develop it on the old lines, and he felt this could best be done by putting control in the hands of the 'body of old men' (the Senate), who had had experience of the state in the past, and who could ably guide the executive officers.

The Romans, however, were far too wise to think that authority can be actually exercised by a committee; the theory of the Roman state was that the elect of the people, the magistrates, had the 'imperium,' the supreme power, and the rods and axes of their attendants, the lictors, were the symbol that showed this power to extend to 'life and death.' But this supreme authority was not to be used in Rome itself; there it was limited by being divided between the migistrates, by the right of appeal to the people in capital cases, and above all by the tradition that the magistrate was to take the advice of the Senate.

During the best days of the Republic, that is, till the middle of the second century B.C. the Roman compromise worked well. Her magistrates, the elect of the people, were not at the beck and call of the assemblies like Athenian officials; it was even an open question whether a magistrate could be removed before his time of office was over. In theory, although it was the people which had chosen him, his authority was derived from his predecessor, who had 'created' him.

The Senate, as has been said, was really the ruling power in Rome till 123 B.C., when C. Gracchus used his position as tribune to appeal to the people direct, and, setting all traditions at defiance, ruled Rome as the people's representative during his first tribunate.

In foreign policy especially the senatorial government was supreme. It is in the second century B.C. that the Roman Republic built up its provincial empire. The foundations of this had been laid as the result of the First Punic War, which gave the conquerors the first provinces, Sicily and (shortly afterwards) Sardinia and Corsica.

In the half century which followed the Second Punic War Rome's policy was one of hesitation. War after war was fought,

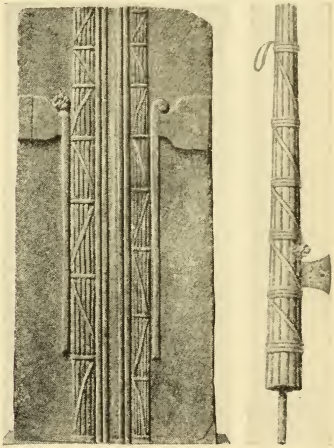
but they were at least half defensive, and though the Romans crushed their enemies in the East, Macedonia and Syria, as they had crushed Carthage in the West, they did not at first annex any territory. But circumstances were too strong for them, especially when the ambition and greed of individuals also tended to promote aggression and the addition of provinces. So, as the result of the Third Punic War, as had happened after each of the previous wars with Carthage, a great increase of territory was gained: Africa, Macedonia, Achaea, all became provinces in 146, and thirteen years later Asia was added by bequest. Rome was supreme in the western Mediterranean and in the Aegean.

It would almost be true to say that the list of the provinces of the Republic ends here. It is true that the conquests of Pompey and Caesar almost doubled the extent of Rome's dominions; but the provinces then added were the result of proconsular power, not of senatorial diplomacy; in the winning of them the force was built up which was soon to overthrow the Republic. The Senate had built up the dominion of Republican Rome, but in doing so had created the semi-professional army which enabled the proconsul to make himself master of the central government.

There were signs already in the second century B.C. that the authority of the Senate was on the wane. When a governor like Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. made war on the Galatians without authority from the Senate, when a consul like Marcus Popillius in 173 B.C. refused to obey the order of the Senate that he should compensate the Ligurians whom he wronged, and when he succeeded in escaping the punishment he deserved, it was clear that the good traditions were falling into decay.

And the failure is seen not only in aggression and annexation but also in misgovernment of provinces already annexed. The Roman authorities honestly tried to impose only fair burdens on their subjects and to secure justice for them if their legal rights were infringed. It may confidently be claimed that Roman provincial government became in the end the most just and impartial that the ancient world ever saw; but this success was not attained at once, and in fact not till the time of the Empire. Under the Republic there was the constant struggle between the greed of individuals and the tradition of the state that justice should be done.

The Romans did many great things, but the greatest of all was their creation of new nations. Spain was the first country in which the methods were



FASCES OF THE ROMAN LICTORS

As a symbol of the 'imperium,' or power of life and death, wielded by the chief Roman magistrates, their attendants the lictors bore bundles ('fasces') of rods with an axe bound therein. Left, a wall relief; right, a reconstruction.

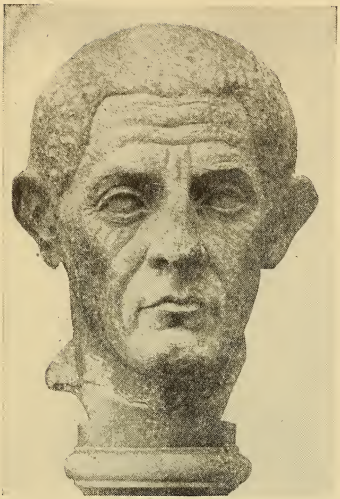
British Museum (left)

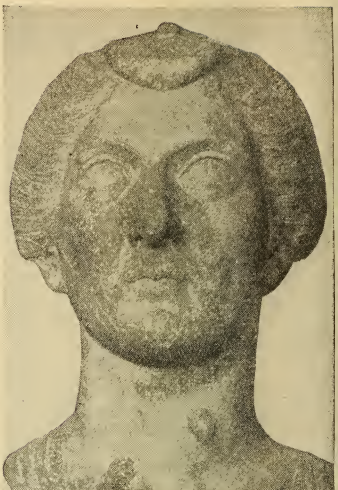
adopted which rendered possible the proud boast of Rutilius four centuries later:

Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat

—'you made what was formerly the world a city.' And though the province of Gaul and its transformation into France were the triumphs of the Empire, the foundations at all events of the Romanization of the Iberian peninsula, and of its unification into Spain and Portugal, were the work of the Republic.

The government of the provinces and the problems it presented were the most important parts of senatorial rule in the





TYPICAL ROMANS WHO SAW THE GREAT DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC

The genius of the Romans for portraiture was one of their most lasting contributions to art. The magnificent series of Imperial busts represented in every museum enables one to realize this, but even better than they in some ways are the splendid heads, mostly anonymous, that survive from Republican times. These two are quite early and admirably show the type of men and women who were the strength of Rome in the days when she was fighting for supremacy in the Mediterranean.

Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen

second century B.C.; but it must not be forgotten that the work was done on the lines that had been laid down in the two preceding centuries, and that Rome was able to unify western Europe because she had first succeeded in unifying Italy. It is true that all the country south of the Alps was geographically one, and that Rome was marked out by natural features as its capital; but it is equally true that the racial elements in it were most mixed, and that the Italian nation is as truly a creation of Rome as the French and the Spanish. The Latin and the Sabellian tribes were probably akin to her in race, but Etruscans beyond the Tiber, Ligurians in the Riviera, and Gauls all over North Italy, not to mention a plentiful admixture of Greeks in South Italy, presented a problem for unification which bristled with difficulties and which might have seemed insoluble. But the trained administrators of Ancient Rome were never daunted by problems.

The principles which Rome was to follow in solving it had been learned in the experience of the two preceding centuries; since the time when Rome, by conquering Veii (396 B.C.), had shown that Latin civilization and not Etruscan domination was to prevail. These principles were broadly the recognition of local independence, the avoidance of tribute, coupled with the requirement of military service, the careful graduation of privileges, so that every community had something it could hope to gain by good conduct, and, above all, the willingness to concede the highest reward, a share of Roman citizenship. Rome never made the mistake of Athens by touching the pockets of her dependent allies; she avoided too the other mistake

of Athens, that of antagonizing the leading men everywhere. The Roman Senate had the feelings and the prejudices of an aristocracy, and they knew how much interference the ruling classes of their neighbors would tolerate or even welcome.

And at the same time Rome wisely avoided anything like a cast-iron uniformity. It was easy to assimilate Latins and Sabines, and they were soon absorbed; but no attempt was made to Romanize Greeks, the Etruscan Lucumos were allowed to manage their own serfs, and the Gauls in North Italy were largely left to the authority of their chiefs. One nation in Italy alone proved itself irreconcilable: the Samnites between 340 and 290 B.C. had given Rome her hardest struggles; they had joined Pyrrhus and Hannibal when they invaded Italy; they held out against all Rome's attempts at unification in the second century, and finally they had to be almost wiped out by Sulla, because in the Social War (90-88 B.C.) they fought to destroy Rome, when the rest of her allies were fighting to be allowed to join her.

But this is anticipating. It is necessary to speak in a little more detail of the way in which after 200 B.C. the Roman government applied in Italy (and also unwisely failed to apply) the principles of unification of which we have just spoken.

The Second Punic War had found Roman influence extended to the north of the Apennines and beginning to penetrate to the valley of the Po. The first task of the government therefore, when the war was over, was to secure that valley, and then to reduce the Ligurians, who commanded the difficult access to Italy along the north-west coast. The work was mainly done by the old method, the foundation of colonies with a great road to connect them.

But while the Roman government in this old way was strengthening its hold on Italy, it was departing from another of the most important of the old traditions; the methods of easy access to the Roman citizenship were abandoned; the convenient status of half-citizenship ('civitas sine suffragio'—citizenship without the vote), which had been invaluable as making easier transition from alliance to full privilege, was given up. No more such citizens were made, and those already existing were rapidly absorbed into the body of full citizens. So the gap between Rome and her allies were widened, or rather, it should be said, the bridges provided for the easy crossing of this gap were broken down.

And along with the growing separation between the ruling state and her dependent allies went a corresponding diminution of their privileges. The old right of 'migration' to Rome was limited; the burdens of military service were increased, and the Romans began to show a tendency to choose the easier campaigns in the East for their own troops, and to send their allies to provinces like Spain and Sardinia, where there was little booty and much danger both in fighting and from disease.

But we must be careful not to exaggerate the decay of good government. The great facts must always be remembered that the Roman allies in Italy had arms in their hands, that armed men do not tolerate systematic oppression, and that when Italy did revolt finally, half of it refused to move, and remained loyal to Rome. Here, as everywhere in history, the tendency is for the evil exceptions to be remembered and for the good, which is the rule, to be taken for granted and left unmentioned.

But making all allowances for this principle, and recognizing that Rome in the second century B.C. still had the best government in the old world, yet the fact remains that there was much amiss with the Roman Republic, both in the provinces and in Italy. It was still far from the collapse of the next century, when it was necessary for Julius Caesar to sweep away a corrupt oligarchy. Several matters, however, of great importance must be mentioned, with regard to the evil signs were which made far-sighted statesmen fear that 'Roma Immortalis' might prove only mortal.

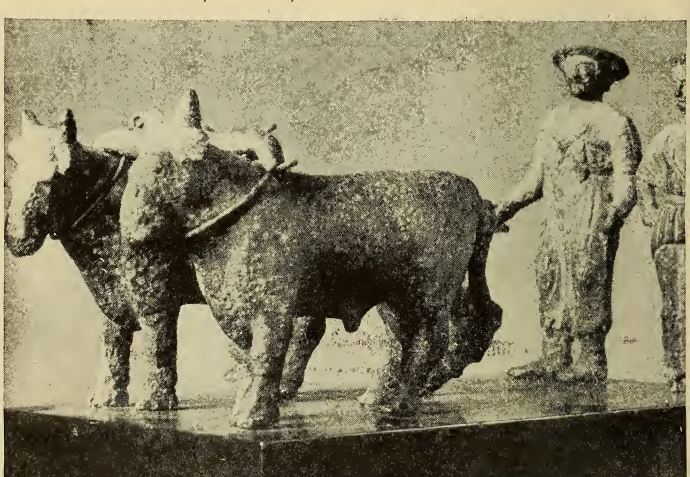
Perhaps the feature which distressed Roman statesmen most was the decay in population. Since the first days of the Republic there had been a steady increase, except during the terrible times of the Punic Wars; but from 159 B.C. onwards this increase had ceased, and on the contrary a steady decline had begun.

And it was not only in numbers that there was a falling off; the balance of population was being altered for the

worse. The yeoman farmers, who had been the strength of Rome's armies, were the element that was decreasing, and already the capital was beginning to attract less idlers, who lived on the state.

It is commonly said that the Hannibalic Wars ruined Italy; at least half of it was laid waste by hostile armies. It is said also that the Roman soldiers, demoralized by long warfare, did not care to return to their farms, and above all that the competition of state-grown corn from the provinces ruined the Roman farmer. The first of these causes might have been, by itself, merely transitory in effect; for Rome, if she had still been what she was in the preceding century, would have recovered as rapidly as England did after the Napoleonic War. And little importance can be attached to the effects of foreign competition; the ancient farmer grew corn for his own livelihood, not to sell. His food, his fuel, his clothes were all produced at home, and he had not the burdens of rent, of rates and of education which crush out so many modern farmers.

The second cause mentioned above, however, if generalized, is, in part at least, the real cause of the decay in Rome's rural population; modern experience has taught us that it is hard for a man who has been a soldier for years to return to his old pursuits, and the Second Punic War was followed by a long series of wars, all of which kept Rome's farmer soldiers away from home for long periods, often for many years. When we add the attractions of a growing capital, where life was much easier and where advancement might be won by the ambitious, and when we consider that the great network of roads with which the Romans drew Italy together, we are not surprised that there was a steady drift of the rustic citizens towards Rome.



HARDY OFFSPRING OF THE SOIL SUCH AS GAVE ITALY HER GREATNESS

In Italy the real strength of the country lay in its yeoman farmers; and it was largely dissatisfaction with the labor of the soil bred by long foreign campaigns, together with the cityward tendency of the population, that produced the economic misery of late Republican times. But these causes can be exaggerated; and even in the last century B.C. figures like this sixth-century farmer and his wife, of Etruscan workmanship, must have been far from uncommon.

Museo di Villa Giulia, Rome; photo, Alinari

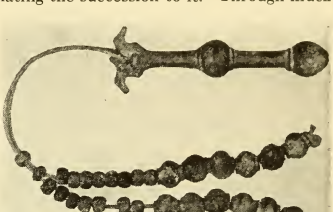
And this change in the distribution of population had two further results, which caused anxiety to thinking citizens. There was a deterioration in the Roman armies; the legionaries who in the war with Pyrrhus met death 'with all their wounds in front' were the sons of the soil; of the Roman soldier in the second century an almost contemporary writer (Sallust) said that he was a 'terror only to his friends, a prey to his enemies.' A new Roman army had to be created by Marius, and it saved Rome and civilization; but it was not composed of good citizens like the armies that faced Hannibal. It was, or very soon became, a professional army.

The second evil result of the change in population was the growth of the number of slaves; these were needed for agricultural work in Italy, and Roman conquests and the spread of piracy made them cheap. Hence their numbers increased to a dangerous extent.

Disquieting signs of degeneration

The decrease of population, the decay of Roman agriculture, the deterioration in the Roman armies, the increase of slavery, were all disquieting signs, and men began to criticize the rule of the Senate under which these evils had grown up. In the Senate itself there was a reform party, the members of which were prepared for moderate change. Their proposals were unimportant, and when finally one of them, C. Laelius, ventured as praetor (145 B.C.) to propose a far-reaching law dealing with the land problem, he met so much resistance from the propertied interests that he withdrew and so earned the title of Sapiens ('prudent').

The truth was that the Roman Senate, like other bodies and institutions in Rome, was changing for the worse. Recruited as it was from ex-magistrates, the elect of the people, it was an 'aristocracy' in the best sense of the word; it was, to use the phrase of Aristotle, the government of the state by the best men for the benefit of all. But when the dangerous times of the Punic Wars were left behind, the whole conception of office at Rome gradually changed. Men were usually elected to office, not because they were best qualified for it, but because their fathers had held office before them. So completely, in fact, had the idea become established that high office was a privilege to be claimed, not a duty to be performed, that laws were passed regulating the succession to it. Through much of the second century the consulship was eagerly sought as a source of gain, and the ordinary Roman citizens looked on their votes as a valuable, because saleable, commodity. Laws were passed



THE HORRORS OF ROMAN SLAVERY

With foreign conquest the slave population grew enormously, and the Roman, on the whole, seems to have possessed little of that broad humanity which made the life of a Greek slave quite tolerable. Above, a terrible scourge loaded with bronze beads; below, two small bronzes showing slaves in 'cangues.'

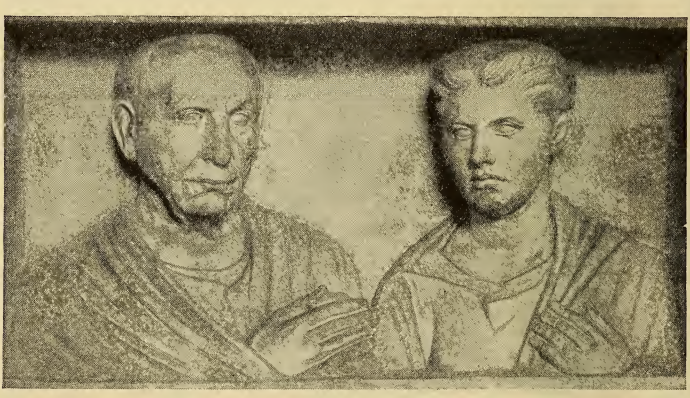
British Museum

against electoral corruption, but their frequent re-enactment with increasing penalties shows how thoroughly ineffective they were.

The deterioration in the Roman spirit has been traced in several fields. It is now necessary to try to indicate some of the causes for this decay. Perhaps we may put first among them the decay of Roman religion. That this happened was due in part to Greek philosophy; but new cults, the increase of wealth, wider intercourse with other nations, were other causes.

A striking proof of the decay in Roman morals at this time is the increase in public shows, and particularly those of the most degrading kind; the duration of the 'Roman games,' which in the early days of Rome had been but one day, was now increased to ten. Wild-beast shows and Greek athletes were introduced in 186 B.C.; and, above all, the bloody gladiatorial shows, which became so dear to all Romans, were greatly developed in the second century, though they had been introduced more than half a century before (264 B.C.).

But it is not right to end with Roman failures and Roman sins. The evidence that we have deals mainly with the extent of these; but the fact remains that in Rome itself, and still more in Italy, the great mass of the people still had the great Roman qualities. The breakdown of government which began in the second century, and which came to a climax in the Civil Wars from 49 to 31 B.C., ended in the establishment once more of a strong and good government; and when this was established, it was seen once more that Rome had conquered the world because she understood how to govern as no preceding state had done.



REPRESENTING THE MIDDLE-CLASS BACKBONE OF ROMAN SOCIETY

A grave-relief of the first century B.C. shows us with incisive characterization a man and his wife, Publius Aiedius Amphio and Fausta Melior. They are typical of those unremembered worthies who must have made Roman history, though Roman history has so little to tell of them: neither patrician, freedman nor slave, but honest members of solid, well-to-do middle-class families.

Berlin Museum

THE WAR-CRAFT OF THE ROMANS

TACTICS AND EQUIPMENT OF THE ARMIES THAT WON THE ANCIENT WORLD FOR ROME

By T. RICE HOLMES, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.

Author of The Roman Republic, The Founder of the Empire, etc.

WHILE the Roman military organization underwent various changes during the regal, republican and imperial periods, certain features remained throughout substantially the same. The legion, whose nominal strength was gradually increased from three thousand to six thousand men, formed until the time of Marius a brigade, in which cavalry and light-armed auxiliaries were incorporated. Every citizen of military age was liable to service, and before the siege of Veii (396 B.C.), when it became necessary to remain on duty throughout the winter, received no pay.

Originally each legion was commanded by six officers called military tribunes, each of whom held control in turn. But in the declining Republic they often owed their appointment not to merit, but to interest; and Caesar never placed a tribune at the head of a legion. The principal officers in the later Republic were the legates, or lieutenants of the commander-in-chief. A legate might be entrusted with the command of a legion, an army corps, or even, in the absence of his chief, the entire army; but before the imperial period the legion had no permanent commander. Pompey and Caesar were each empowered by special laws to choose their own legates.

The officers upon whom the efficiency of the troops mainly depended were the centurions. They were selected from the ranks and their position has been compared with that of British non-commissioned officers; but their duties were in some respects more important. The centurions of the first cohort, who had attained their rank by promotion were regularly summoned, at least by Caesar,

EQUIPMENT OF EARLY REPUBLICAN SOLDIERY

This handle of a bronze toilet box represents two soldiers wearing helmets and full uniforms, and grasping long spears, with a dead comrade borne between them. It was found at the half-Greek, half-Latin City of Praeneste, in a grave of the fourth century B.C., and the accoutrement is partly Greek.

Rome, Museo delle Terme; photo, Alinari

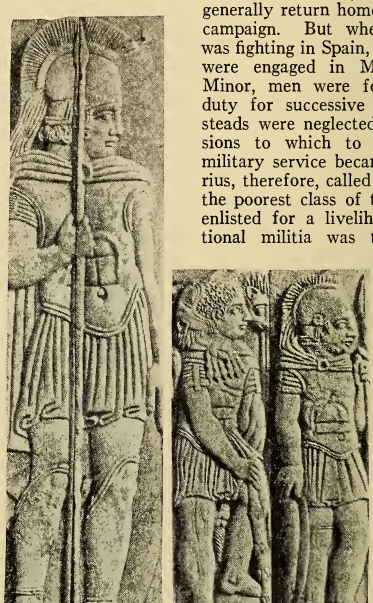
to councils of war; and the chief centurion of the legion might offer suggestions to the legate himself.

With the legions were associated contingents furnished by the Italian peoples whom Rome successively subdued and bound to herself as subject allies. Cavalry and other auxiliaries were sometimes hired from foreign lands; and in the war with Hannibal, when every available man was needed, slaves were allowed to volunteer and rewarded for faithful service with freedom.

The weakest point in the military system before the revolutionary period of the Republic was that consuls or proconsuls were appointed to command simply in virtue of their rank. Of the Romans it may be said that they often 'muddled through.' During the period of the great wars, if they were obliged to fight at sea, after first borrowing ships from Greek cities of southern Italy, they built their own which were generally rowed by slaves or freedmen and manned by soldiers. But when Rome became mistress of the Mediterranean, subject states, especially Rhodes and other Greek islands, were required to contribute fleets. The lack of a permanent fleet, however, occasionally caused disaster.

When Rome was establishing her dominion over Italy, the soldiers could generally return home at the end of each campaign. But when Scipio Africanus was fighting in Spain, when Roman armies were engaged in Macedonia and Asia Minor, men were forced to remain on duty for successive years; their homesteads were neglected; they had no pensions to which to look forward; and military service became unpopular. Marius, therefore, called for volunteers from the poorest class of the community, who enlisted for a livelihood. Thus the national militia was transformed into a professional army, and although the principle of a standing army was not yet recognized by the state, standing armies continued to exist throughout the remaining period of the Republic.

Every soldier, on enlistment, took the oath of obedience, not to the state, but to the general whom he was to serve; and it was to him that he looked for the bounties and the allotments of land which, in default of a pension, would enable him to subsist when he should have served his time. The generals were the masters of the army, and the downfall of the Republic became inevitable. When Octavian, receiving the title of Augustus, reorganized the constitution, the professional army, being essential to the safety of the state, necessarily received



LATIN WARRIORS OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

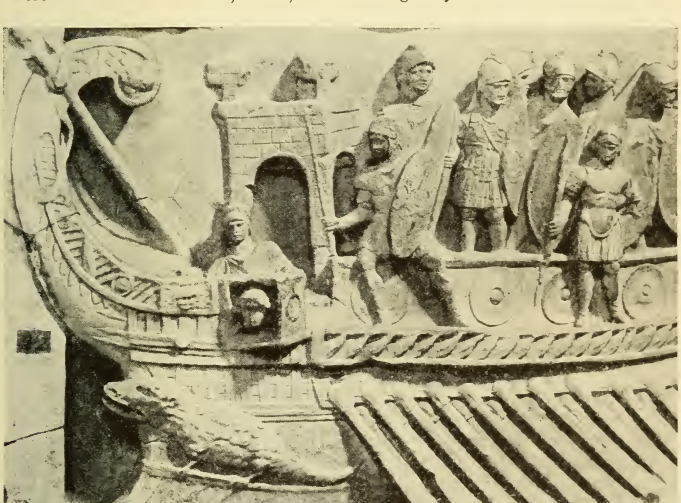
Like the box in the preceding page these ivory plaques were found in a grave at Praeneste, but they date from the third century B.C. A Latin warrior is figured on the large plaque; his armor and weapons are Greek, but are almost identical in detail with the Roman equipment. A soldier similarly accoutred appears on the smaller plaque at the right. The small plaque in the center shows Hercules, one foot on an overturned amphora.

Museo Villa Giulia; photo, Alinari

official recognition; but its revolutionary character was unchanged. Augustus, who had raised it, led it to victory and rewarded it, remained its master, for it would not submit to senatorial control.

Other important changes, which proved permanent, were made in the time of Marius. Italian cavalry virtually ceased to exist; for, in consequence of prolonged wars, the wealthier citizens, of whom it had been composed, became reluctant to serve. Thenceforth the mounted troops were Gallic, Spanish, Thracian, Numidian or German mercenaries. Light-armed Italians were employed no longer; and, while picked legionaries occasionally acted in conjunction with cavalry as light infantry, the regular auxiliaries—archers, slingers and targeteers armed with broadswords, who figured in various campaigns—were raised from Numidia, Crete, the Balearic Isles and other provincial lands. After 89 B.C., when Roman citizenship was granted to all the Italian allies, the distinction between citizen and allied soldiers of course vanished.

Since the main object of Augustus, when he became supreme, was to safeguard the frontiers of the Empire, many of which were far distant from the capital, an army composed of men who would serve for the active period of their lives was more than ever necessary. The fleet, which he also reorganized, was divided into squadrons stationed in various ports. Besides the legions, to each of which a permanent commander was assigned, contingents were regularly furnished by client princes, and served on occasion near their own territories; while the auxiliaries, drawn mainly from the western provinces, were greatly increased in their number



LIGHT CRUISER OF THE ROMAN FLEET COMING INTO ACTION

Roman battleships of the line were hexiremes, quinqueremes, quadriremes and triremes. In the first century B.C. two new types of warship were introduced: the bireme shown above and the Liburnian. Both were light, fast vessels, used for both scouting and fighting, and also for the convoy of troops. The rowers were under cover from the missiles of the enemy, and towers were built forward from which missiles could be showered on the enemy's deck.

The Vatican; photo, Alinari

FROM THE TOMB OF A CAVALRYMAN

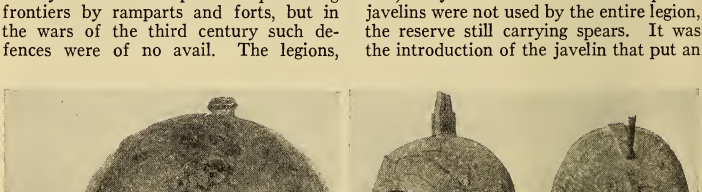
The equipment of the auxiliary cavalry comprised helmet, leather corselet, breeches and shoes. They were armed with long swords and thrusting lances as well as javelins, carried light shields and rode on two blankets fastened by a surcingle, breast strap and crupper, and rode without stirrups.

Cologne Museum; from Rostovtzeff, 'Rome,' Clarendon Press

and were embodied in permanent corps.

Towards the end of the first century the system was adopted of protecting frontiers by ramparts and forts, but in the wars of the third century such defences were of no avail. The legions, isolated in their several provinces and losing the sense of mutual dependence, ceased to feel that they belonged to one imperial army, and when, corrupted by lax discipline, they began to leave the defence of frontiers to auxiliaries, rapidly degenerated.

Let us now consider the operations of war. The legion was divided into thirty companies, called maniples, each of which was composed of two centuries numbering respectively, at their greatest strength, a hundred men. Before the time of Marius the tactical unit was the maniple, afterwards the cohort, which comprised three maniples. The defensive armor of the legionary consisted of a helmet, a leathern cuirass protected by bands of metal, a shield and greaves; his weapons were a short, two-edged, cut-and-thrust sword and (from the time of Marius) a javelin. In the earlier period javelins were not used by the entire legion, the reserve still carrying spears. It was the introduction of the javelin that put an



VARIOUS SHAPES OF HELMET WORN BY ROMAN LEGIONARIES

The helmets of Roman legionaries were of divers shapes. The specimen (left) found near Berkhamstead is derived from the earlier Etruscan 'jockey cap' helmet of purely Italian origin. Its hinged cheek pieces are missing. Horsehair plumes or crests were only donned on the eve of an engagement. They were attached to wooden pegs and inserted in metal sockets on the helmet (center). The Etruscan helmet of Attic shape (right) had a pair of metal tubes to carry single feathers.

British Museum

end to the phalanx and led to the adoption of the open formation in which the Romans conquered. Slings were used by Caesar's legionaries in the campaign of Ilerda.

Besides the legion, whose symbol from the time of Marius was the figure of an eagle, every company had its standard; and the several standards, essential for the direction of movements, were objects of religious adoration.

Before a battle a Roman army was generally — invariably when the tactical unit was the maniple — formed in three lines, in each of which the ranks as a rule stood eight deep, the third line forming a reserve.

A battle generally began with a discharge of missiles. The legionaries in the two front ranks threw their javelins, the blades of which, being made in the time of Caesar of soft iron, would bend when the points penetrated the enemy's shields. In the first battle which he fought in Gaul many of the enemy, finding their shields pinned together by the javelins, which, tug and wrench as they might, they could not extract, flung them away and parried the sword thrusts as best they could.

The method by which individuals—perhaps also occasionally companies—in the fighting line were relieved can be explained with certainty. In a hardly contested battle the foremost ranks of the first line would become tired or thinned, and the gaps were filled by the advance of men from the rear ranks between the files of those in front. If it became necessary to relieve a maniple or a cohort as a whole, the relief was accomplished in the same way. When the third line was brought into action the cohorts that composed it, if they were not required to reinforce the second, could be directed against the enemy's flanks or rear.

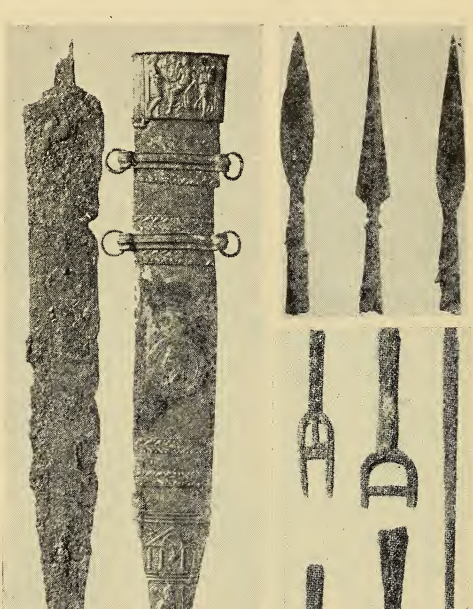
Although the Romans had no separate corps of engineers, every legion included artisans, who executed repairs, planned fortifications and bridges, and probably also worked the delicate mechanism of the artillery. The various engines that composed this arm were due to Greek ingenuity, for Dionysius, the famous tyrant of Syracuse, owed his success largely to the inventions by which his engineers had perfected them. When Caesar's lieutenant, Trebonius, was besieging the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles), ballistas mounted on the wall hurled

ARMS AND ARMOR OF THE ROMAN INFANTRYMAN

The gravestone (left) presents a legionary soldier in full uniform with his javelin ('pilum'), shield and sword. The bronze statuette (right) shows the construction of the flexible cuirass, overlapping bands of metal fastened down the center, with shoulder pieces of similar construction and straps on the shoulder to keep the armor in place.

Wiesbaden Museum, from Rostovtzeff, 'Rome,' Clarendon Press; right, British Museum

feathered javelins, twelve feet long, which crashed through the wattle-work and the planking of the sappers' huts. The difference between catapults and ballistas is not precisely known; but both derived their power from the recoil of twisted cordage, and could discharge either javelins or stones.



SWORD, SCABBARD AND SPEARS FROM ROMAN BATTLEFIELDS

This weapon, found at Mainz, and perhaps a presentation sword of honor to one of Germanicus's officers, is a fine example of the late Roman legionary's sword. The iron blade is twenty-one inches long and two and a half inches wide at the base, and the scabbard was of wood with a sheathing of silver gilt decorated with reliefs in gilt bronze. On the right are three iron spearheads; below them, five bronze and iron spear butts of varying types.

British Museum

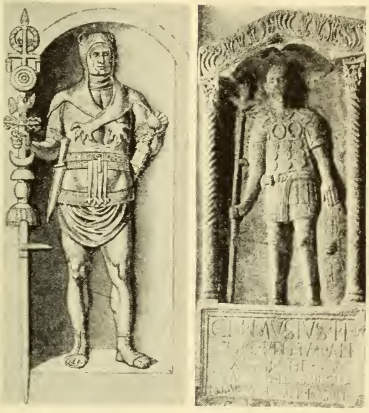
They bore some resemblance to huge crossbows; but instead of one bow there were two arms, passed through the skeins of cordage and connected by a rope, which formed the bowstring. A block, furnished with a hook which held the bowstring and was itself held down by a trigger, could slide backwards and forwards in a groove, which directed the flight of the missile. When the weapon was loaded the block was forced back by a windlass, despite the resisting cordage, and fixed by a catch, which fitted into a row of teeth. When the missile was to be discharged the trigger was pressed, the bowstring was released, the recoil of the cordage caused the arms to fly back, and the missile sped on its way.

Artillery was used not only in sieges but also in naval warfare, and occasionally in the field. Caesar, in order to prevent a Belgic host from outflanking his line of battle, dug trenches transversely on either side of a slope on which his legions were arrayed, and at the ends of each trench constructed redoubts, which he armed with artillery—probably light quick-firing weapons, of the kind which were called 'scorpions.'

In terrestrial warfare, however, the principal use of artillery was in connection with entrenchments; for Roman victories, especially those of Caesar and his adopted son, Octavian, were largely gained by the constant use of pick and shovel. As a general rule no Roman army halted for the night without con-

structing a camp fortified with trench, rampart and palisade. A camp intended to be occupied during a prolonged period was of course constructed with greater elaboration.

At the outset of his first Gallic campaign Caesar prevented the Helvetian invaders from taking the direct route through the Roman province by throwing up earthworks along the Rhône, but the principal use of those entrenchments which did not belong to camps was in siege or blockade. When a siege was about to be undertaken, the fortress, unless marshes or other natural features made investment impossible, was enclosed by a contravallation, in order to ward off attack from without, to check sorties, or to prevent the introduction of supplies. The contravallation did not necessarily surround it; for sometimes a river or some other obstacle served in part the same purpose.



ROMAN STANDARD BEARERS

On the left is a 'signifer' with the 'signum' or standard of his cohort; on the right an 'aquilifer' with the eagle—the standard of the legion. The uniforms belong to the 2nd century of our era, but may have been worn in the time of Caesar.

Lindenschmit, and Rostovtzeff, 'Rome,' Clarendon Press

The regular method of preparing the way for assault, practised not only by the Romans but also by Greeks and Asiatics, was to construct a terrace at right angles to that face of the fortress which could be most conveniently approached. As soon as it was finished a battering ram was brought into action; or if the wall was too tough to be breached, and rendered proof against fire by layers of stone and rubble, the assault was delivered by escalade.

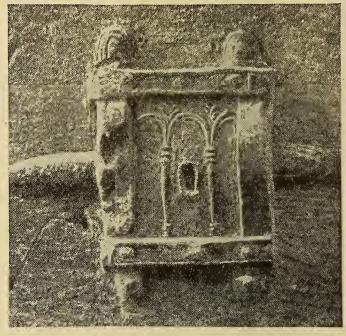
But Roman engineers had other means of attack, e.g. at Avaricum, in the hope of dislodging the stones in the wall, the woodwork of which rendered it proof against the ram, they used powerful hooks, riveted to stout poles, which, however, the defenders seized with nooses and hauled up by means of windlasses. Trebonius, in the siege of Massilia, resorted to mines, which the garrison rendered useless by digging a deep ditch behind. The ingenuity of his chief engineer, however, was equal to any trial. As the besiegers were harassed by frequent sorties, he contrived to erect close to the wall a brick tower, six stories high, on each of which catapults were mounted, and by discharging missiles through loopholes rendered the whole area within range safe from attack. As soon as the tower was completed the besiegers were enabled to prepare a device for destroying one of the massive bastions. A sappers' hut, sixty feet long, four feet wide inside, and high enough to allow men to stand upright within, was covered by materials proof against fire and water, and moved on rollers until it lay with its whole length in contact with the masonry. Huge stones were pitched from the wall on to the roof, but the timbers withstood the crash, and while missiles were showered from the brick tower against the defenders, the men inside the hut prized out the foundation stones.

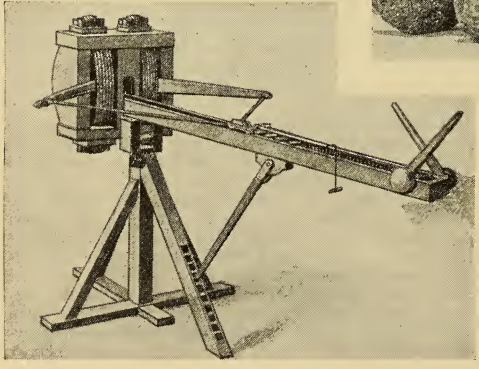
The Romans made naval battles approximate in character to battles upon land. When their fleets were not commanded by Greek mariners, the admirals were military men. Battles with the Carthaginians were won, despite the nautical inexperience of the Romans, by a device familiar to schoolboys—a gangway which, lowered on to an enemy's

ship, fixed itself by an iron spike in the deck and enabled the legionaries to board it. When Caesar had to contend off the coast of Brittany against the powerful fleet of the Veneti, his lieutenant, Decimus Brutus, foreseeing that it would be useless to attempt to ram the enemy's massive ships, used an instrument contrived by his engineers. With sharp, sickle-shaped hooks fixed to poles the legionaries who manned his galleys seized the halyards; the rowers plied their oars; the sudden strain snapped the ropes; and as the yards and sails fell down, the legionaries, clambering aboard the helpless hulk ended the struggle with their swords. A few years later, in the Mediterranean, Decimus was opposed to the Greeks of Massilia, whose vessels, like his own, when they were cleared for action, were propelled only by oars. Their galleys were faster, their skippers and oarsmen more skilful than his; but though they endeavored to envelop his fleet and then to ram his vessels or to smash their oars, he won the battle with the aid of grappling irons, which enabled his fighting men to seize and board the hostile craft.

Agrippa devised an improved grappling iron, by means of which he gained a decisive victory over the famous corsair, Sextus Pompeius. His object was to enable the instrument to be launched safely from a distance and to make it impossible for the enemy to break the pole to which the grappling hook was attached. This was done by casing the pole with iron and attaching to its lower end a ring, through which were passed ropes controlled by a windlass. It was discharged by a catapult, and when it caught hold, the ropes were pulled taut.

Agrippa was not only an inventor and





SIEGE ARTILLERY AND AMMUNITION

The catapult was a two-armed torsion engine which hurled huge javelins and also stone balls. The specimens (above), ranging in weight from ¼ lb. to 10 lb., were found in Scipio's encampments about Numantia. At the top is a relief showing a front view of a catapult.

From Stuart-Jones, 'Companion to Roman History,' Rice Holmes, 'The Roman Republic,' and Schulten, 'Numantia'

a skilful admiral, but also a naval architect. He had built large vessels to overpower those of Sextus; but when his chief was about to encounter Antony, who had hastily followed his example, he prepared light galleys, which, being handled easily and extraordinarily swift, could attack the enemy's cumbrous ships, which they outnumbered, whenever an opening presented itself, or move rapidly out of danger if they were threatened with the ram. When artillery was used in naval warfare, the engines were mounted on wooden turrets, which could be erected or lowered at will.

It sometimes happened that supplies were difficult to obtain, and numerous passages in Caesar's Commentaries show the care which he devoted to his commissariat. In Gaul he succeeded so well by ensuring regular deliveries of corn from friendly or subjugated tribes that while his enemies were obliged to strike prematurely or to disperse because they had neglected to secure their means of subsistence, he was able to keep his forces together and to choose his own time; but, during the operations which he conducted against Pompey near Dyrrachium (Durazzo), he was unable for want of shipping to procure grain from Italy. He could obtain so little wheat that his troops were obliged to live on barley, pulse, roots and meat, which in normal circumstances they rarely ate. In the Republican period wealthy officers had often been attended by their private surgeons, and medical aid of some sort provided for the rank and file; but under the Empire a permanent medical staff was maintained.

A well authenticated incident shows the devotion of which Roman soldiers were capable even after they had begun to serve not from patriotism, but for the rewards which their commander could offer. When Caesar was campaigning in Africa against Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, one of his centurions was captured with the privates of whom he was in charge and sent to the camp of Scipio, who told them that if they would take service with him, he would not only pardon, but also reward them. The centurion replied:

I thank you, Scipio—I will not call you Imperator—for your great kindness in offering life and immunity to a prisoner of war, and perhaps I might avail myself of it if it were not associated with the lowest depth of villainy. I to bear arms against my general, Caesar, under whom I have commanded a company, and against his army, for whose honor I have fought victoriously thirty-six times or more! No! That I will never do, and seriously I counsel you to desist from your enterprise; for if you have not yet realized the character of the man whose force you have to encounter, you may learn it now. Choose one of your cohorts—the one you deem the bravest—and array it against

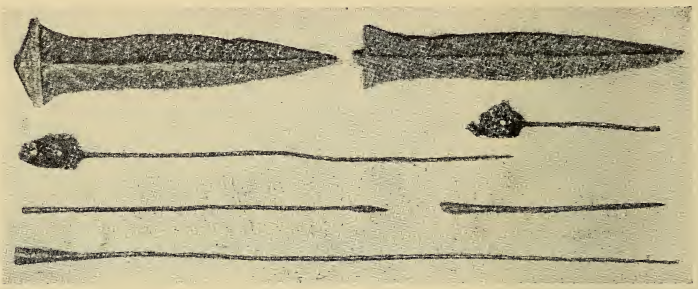
THE USE OF MAIL ARMOR

A panel of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine shows a variety of equipment. One soldier wears mail armor, which might be of ring-mail ('lorica hamata') or of small plates ('squamata'), and was often used by cavalry.

Photo, Anderson

me, while I take just ten of my comrades, now in your power. Then shall you learn from our valor what you may expect from your own men.

Trembling with rage, Scipio signed to his attendant officers, and while he looked on the centurion was killed. But his example remained. Not statesmanship nor generalship alone, but also character made Rome supreme.



DAGGERS AND PILA OF THE ROMAN ARMY

The principal arm of the Roman infantry was the pilum, an iron rod, the length of which in the time of Caesar was less than 3 feet, terminating in a pointed blade and attached by a tang to a wooden shaft. If the point pierced a shield it bent and could not readily be extracted; the shield became an encumbrance; the weapon could not be used by the enemy; and the legionary was free to use his sword, or sometimes the short dagger (top) which he also carried.

From Adolf Schulten, 'Numantia,' Bruckmann A. G.

THE RELIGION OF THE LATINS

HOW THE SPIRITS OF THE LATIN FARM BECAME THE GODS OF THE ROMAN STATE

CYRIL BAILEY, D.Litt., F.B.A.

Fellow of Balliol College and Public Orator in the University of Oxford; Author of 'The Religion of Ancient Rome,' 'Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome,' etc.

A READER of the stories told in Virgil or Ovid or other Latin poets would naturally suppose that the religion of the Romans was an anthropomorphic religion like that of the Greeks. He meets the same kind of human deities, who marry and are given in marriage, have hates and loves, activities and adventures; but they seem a little less alive, and are disguised under new names, which occasionally recall their Greek originals but more often seem to have nothing to do with them. And if he has also read something of the historians and orators, he will have learnt that there was a state religion, a cult of these same deities, with an elaborate organization of ceremonies and sacrifices, "flamens" and "pontiffs," auguries and omens, the observance of which was a great anxiety and often a hindrance to the Roman magistrates.

The picture formed in his mind will not be far from the truth as regards the period with which we are here principally concerned, but it is very remote from the genuine religion of the Latins, and, if that is to be rightly understood, it is necessary to penetrate beyond the foundation of Rome itself into the thoughts and practices of the early inhabitants of Latium.

Whatever their racial origin, the Latins were already a civilized people, living a settled agricultural life in the plain which is bounded on the west by the sea and on the other sides by the hills and mountains on which Rome looks out today. They did not at first inhabit village communities, but lived in detached farms, each belonging to a family living under the rule of its "paterfamilias" or head.

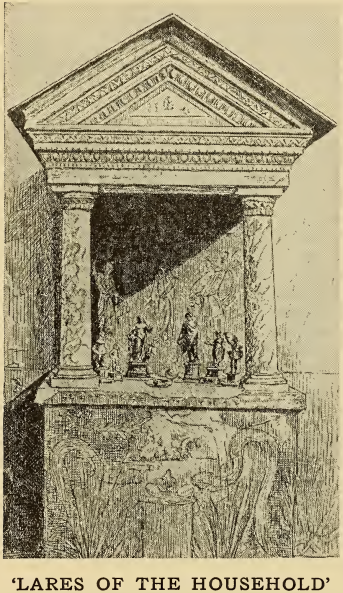
Here and there among their beliefs may be found traces of earlier magical ideas, but the Latins were in the more advanced stage of religion to which modern anthropologists have given the name of animism. They were conscious of powers greater than themselves, but did not identify them with the forces of Nature. It is possible that the sun was worshipped, but there is no trace of the worship of moon, winds or sea, and it is significant that Jupiter the sky god had as his main province in the early stage the care of the vine. Rather the Latins recognized a multitude of smaller spirits dwelling in and controlling the individual objects and places with which they were familiar in their daily life. Thus in the house the door (Janus) and the hearth (Vesta) were the abode of such spirits; in the country they were associated with agricultural operations and were felt to be present in streams and springs, in groves and on hill-tops. These spirits were not conceived, like the gods of the Greeks, in human form; the typical word by which they are described is not *deus,* a god, but rather *numen,* a "power" or spirit.

As a rule the Latins gave names to the spirits—sometimes, as to Fons (a spring), just the name of the natural object itself; sometimes, as to Consus or Ops, the spirits of the stored harvest, names derived from an agricultural function.

Now, the word which most characteristically describes their attitude towards these spirits is *religio.* The derivation of the word is much disputed, and its meaning has been variously interpreted. The truth probably is that for the Romans themselves its significance changed, and that as their cult became stereotyped in the state worship, it came to denote more and more a legal relation between gods and men which could be summed up in something like a code of sacred law. But in the earliest stage it was just the natural feeling which Man experienced when he felt himself in the presence of a "spirit"; the single English word which most nearly

expresses it is "awe." It is no doubt primarily a feeling of fear, but it has also from the first the kindred feeling of reverence. The germ of all true religion is in it, and it is the key to the understanding of the religion of the Latins.

With this general notion of "numen" and "religio" in mind, we may enter a little more closely into the religious life of these Latin farmers. The "family,"



'LARES OF THE HOUSEHOLD'

In every Roman home there was a shrine containing the images of the household deities. Here we see an example recovered from the dust of Pompeii; it contains images of two Lares and other domestic divinities.

Sir Henry Stuart-Jones, 'Companion to Roman History'

which, besides the paterfamilias and his direct descendants, with their wives and children, included the farm-workers, slave and free, was settled on its own farm or estate, separated from those of other families by boundary marks. The house was round in shape, a development, probably, of a primitive wigwam; the form was preserved in the round house of Vesta at Rome and may be seen today in the beautiful temple on the Tiber bank, which is most probably assigned to the dawn goddess (Matuta). There was one door to the hut, and in the middle of the round interior was the hearth, in front of which was set the table for the family meals; at the back against the wall was the cupboard in which the food was stored.

Here are the main centres of family worship. The door (*janua*) was at once the "safety-valve" of the house through which influences within might be driven out, and the danger point by which evil from without might enter. Hence Janus, the two-faced door spirit, becomes an object of awe, though, oddly enough, more is known of his cult at the gateway of the state than in the worship of the household.

A CLEARER figure is the hearth spirit (Vesta), on whom the warmth and the food of the family depend. In all the long history of Roman religion Vesta retains her character as a "numen": no image of her was ever made and no anthropomorphic legends were told of her. Every day at the household meal a pause was made after the main course and a portion of salted cake, baked by the daughters of the house, was thrown from a ritual plate into the fire on the hearth as an offering to Vesta and the other household spirits. Later, little images of the other gods of the family, were placed on the table, but never one of Vesta: she was the hearth itself which received the offering. Janus and Vesta, then, are the two named deities in the house.

After door and hearth the most essential feature of the house was the storecupboard in which the produce of the fields was kept. This was presided over not by a single named spirit, but by a group undefined in number and names. These "Penates" had their place in the acts of family worship and, as we know from the Roman poets, they came to stand for the Roman as a peculiar symbol of his home.

In the poets we often find associated with them the Lares; the plural is of late date, but the "Lar of the household" certainly goes back to a very early stage. Who he was is a matter of dispute and it

is most likely that the Lar is really a field spirit, worshipped particularly by the farm hands under the charge of the bailiff, and brought into the house by them as their special protector. Later, the master and his family linked his cult with that of the other household spirits, and so Lares and Penates became the Roman equivalent of "hearth and home."

For us moderns a harder conception to understand is that of the Genius, which was specially associated with the paterfamilias. Originally he was the reproductive power of the head of the house, which ensures the continuity of the family. As such he is specially associated with the marriage-bed. But he takes on a wider character as representing all the virile powers of the master of the house; thus in late representations he is often depicted with the features of the paterfamilias. Later conceptions made him a kind of twin-soul of his owner, and, after association with the Greek daemon, almost a guardian angel.

FAMILY GOD

The household Lar was usually represented in sculpture as a dancing youth bearing a bowl and a horn of plenty.
British Museum

Every male had his own Genius, as every woman had her Juno, but it was the Genius of the master which was the center of the house-cult. Nor is this unnatural, for the family and not the individual was the unit in the community.

Janus, Vesta, the Penates, the Lar of the household and the Genius were thus the spirits with which the religion of the home was concerned. In a pious household they were worshipped daily in the early morning and at meals; and special offerings would be made to them on great occasions in family life, such as a birth, an arrival or a departure, and on the master's birthday.

Before leaving the household a word must be added about the ceremonies connected with the great family events of birth, marriage and death. These are for the most part very primitive in character, and are concerned more with the averting of possible evil influences than with any prayer to benignant spirits for blessings. Immediately after birth a sacrifice was made to two obscure spirits, Picumnus and Pilumnus, and at night three men came to the threshold armed with an axe, a stake and a broom. Their function was to slay the evil spirits who might wish to enter, and to sweep out those who had gathered within at the event of childbirth, always thought by primitive peoples to involve impurity.

Marriage at Rome was in some of its forms a merely civil ceremony, but its most solemn celebration *confarreatio,* was always religious and was in later times consecrated by the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, the principal administrator of ecclesiastical law, and the Flamen Dialis, the most important of the sacrificial priests. Its chief ceremony was an act at once of sacrifice and of communion. Bride and bridegroom sat on chairs placed side by side and covered with a lambskin, they offered bloodless oblations of corn and salted meal to Jupiter, and themselves ate the sacred cake made of spelt (*libus farreus*), from which the ceremony took its name. The bringing of the bride to her new home was accompanied by many rites, mostly superstitious, but there was a close connection with the household cults. The bride was lifted over the threshold of the door to avoid any possibility of a stumble, and she brought with her three coins, one to give to her husband, one to offer to the Lar in the house, the third to offer to the Lares in the fields at the boundary of the property.

Such rites as are associated with death seem all directed not to honor the dead but to protect the living from evil influences. At the moment of death there was no ritual nor was the funeral itself religious, but merely a procession to the tomb in which the dead was laid. But when the family returned home they first purified the house by the sacrifice of a

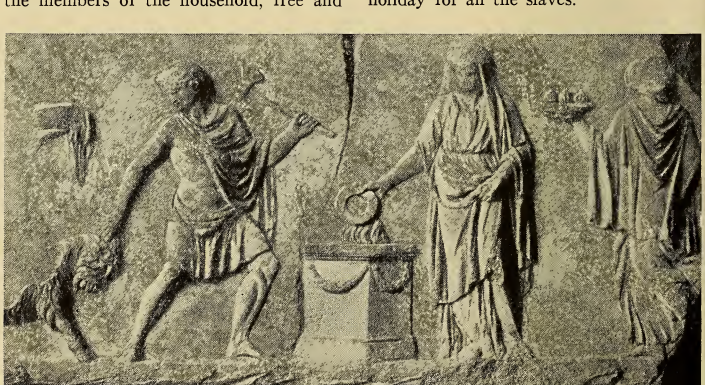
sow to Ceres and by the sweeping out of the house, and then purified themselves by fire and water. The dead were not worshipped, but they were not forgotten. On the anniversaries of the death and the funeral the family visited the grave and made simple offerings of salt cake and garlands of flowers.

Twice in the yearly calendar occur ceremonials connected with the dead, very different in character, and significant of two stages of thought with regard to them. At the Lemuria in May the dead —spoken of as the Lemures or Larvae, both ill-omened names—are conceived of as possibly hostile spirits who must be exorcised. The paterfamilias rises at midnight, walks barefoot through the house, spitting black beans from his mouth and exclaiming, "With these I redeem me and mine"; he washes and clanks brazen vessels together and cries out, "Depart, spirits of our fathers." In February occurred the "festival of the ancestors" (*Parentalia*), when the dead were regarded with affection as in some sense still members of the household.

This cult of the house spirits, uniting the members of the household, free and slave, living and dead, is the root of another of Rome's great words "pietas," which has the double idea of devotion to the gods and affection for the family.

It is time to pass from the house into the fields and to see what part religion played in the outdoor life of the Latin farmer; it will be found that religion is again both local and functional. The local focus of religious ceremonies is the boundary of the property, and three interesting celebrations exhibit different aspects of the religious outlook. On February 23 a solemn ceremony took place at the actual boundary-marks (*termini*). It was performed jointly by the owners of property on either side and was a renewal of the original religious compact between them.

Akin to this is the festival which took place in January at the *compitum,* the place where several properties marched, or crosspaths met. Here the members of all the households concerned united to worship the Lares Compitales. Each household erected an altar on its own property and sacrificed to the Lar of its own fields. On this occasion there was a holiday for all the slaves.



SACRIFICING TO THE GODS OF THE LATINS

The sacrifice of animals was an important element in most Roman religious festivals. In family worship the father or his deputies performed the ceremonies; in public celebrations priests and magistrates officiated. Above we see a ministrant dragging a goat to the sacrifice, an unexpected feature, since by tradition the animals must go willingly, if the offering is to be acceptable to the gods.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts

But the boundary was looked upon by the Latin farmer not merely as a division between his own property and his neighbor's, but also as enclosing his own lands, and towards the end of May he performed the Ambarvalia, a solemn lustration of the fields for the averting of evil. The little procession passed round the boundaries and an offering was made, not only of the remains of last year's harvest and the first fruits of the new crops, but of the most complete animal sacrifice which the farmer could offer, the *suovetaurilia,* the pig, the sheep and the ox. The deity concerned was Mars, who appears here in an unmistakably agricultural character.

Especially characteristic of the Latin mind is the careful precision of details, the repetitions and the use of synonyms; nothing must be omitted, no loophole left for misapprehension by the god; for if man performs his part duly, the god is bound to hear and answer.

However, these rites at the boundaries were but a small part of the Latin farmer's religious practice. Throughout the year there was a series of functional festivals connected with the operations in the field; each must be duly observed.

The spring festivals are naturally concerned with the farmer's fears and hopes for the young crops and cattle. In March is found a series of ceremonies connected with Mars and his "leaping" priests (*Salii*). These, as we know them in the state cult, are mainly military in character, but there are traces even there that Mars was at first not merely the war god, but also the protector of the young crops and herds.

Of the April festivals the most important was the Parilia of the 21st, addressed to the old rustic spirit, Pales. The flocks were to be purified at early dawn with the sprinkling of water, and the folds adorned with leaves, branches and wreaths. Then sulphur must be burned and the sheep touched with it, and a fire made of olive, pine, juniper and laurel. Millet and milk are next to be offered to Pales and prayer made to her for the forgiveness of unwitting trespasses, for the averting of disease and the prosperity of crops and herds. Milk and wine and must may then be drunk and the worshippers leap through the blazing flames, even driving their flocks through the fire before them. Here is the double idea of purification of men and beasts and prayer to the rustic goddess.

The late summer and autumn festivals are of the nature of "harvest-home." They open with two ceremonies of storing the harvest, the Consualia, on August 21, in honor of the spirit Consus (from *condere,* to store), and the Opiconsivia, on the 25th, in honor of Ops, the spirit of wealth so stored. With October 11 comes the vintage harvest, at which the new

IDYLLIC GOD OF THE FIELDS

Saturn at first was especially connected with agriculture, in particular with sowing and the harvest. He was later identified with the Greek god Cronus, and was believed to have reigned on earth during the Golden Age.

British Museum; photo, Mansell

must and last year's wine were solemnly drunk.

The winter festivals cannot be so easily grouped together, and some of them were hardly agricultural in character. The Saturnalia in December must originally have been a sowing feast in honor of Saturnus (probably derived from *serere,* to sow), but it was so altered in its urban form and overlaid with Greek elements that all trace of its rustic character has been lost. In February occurred the mysterious ceremony, the Lupercalia, which has become familiar to us from the use made of it in 44 B.C. by Mark Antony, when.

acting as a "lupercus," he took occasion to offer the crown to Caesar. It was probably a complex rite, most likely held in honor of the rustic deity Faunus, and in so far as it had an agricultural significance, it was associated with fertility.

And so the year came round again to March. In not a little of the ritual there survives the element of fear in "religio," and ceremonies take the form of averting possible dangers.

It is now necessary to consider the developments and changes which came over this early religion. There grew up, side by side with the farming communities, villages and even towns in which life was no longer purely agricultural. Legend assigns the first predominance among the townships to Alba Longa, which lay on the hill above the lake of Nemi. On that hill the representatives of the Latin towns met year by year to celebrate the religious side of their union in an act of communion with one another and their common god Jupiter Latiaris.

DIVINE PATRONS OF ROME

Etruscan influences were responsible for the association of Juno and Minerva with Jupiter as the state gods of Rome and later of the Empire—the triad represented on this Gallic relief. In most Roman towns they had their 'Capitolium,' in imitation of the temple on the Capitol.

Musée St. Germain, courtesy of M. Salomon, Reinach

But Alba fell, and Rome, not without a struggle, became the dominant power in Latium and developed into a "city state." Henceforth in the study of religion we have to think not of the Latin farmer, but of the Roman citizen, or, rather, of the Roman state.

The state cult was a gradual development; three main periods may be distinguished which correspond exactly to the political history of Rome. In the earliest period we see Rome as an amalgamation of two townships or settlements on the Palatine and Quirinal hills; between them lies the Forum, their place of meeting for civil business, and at its head is the Capitoline hill, the place of common worship. On that hill was consecrated the cult of a triad of deities significant of the union: Jupiter Optimus Maximus, "the greatest and best" of all the many Jupiters known by local and functional cult titles, worshipped in common by both communities; Mars, now the war god of the Palatine settlement; and Quirinus, the corresponding deity of the Quirinal. As legend assigned the political foundation of Rome to the first king Romulus, so its religious organization is attributed to the second king Numa; the "religion of Numa" is spoken of with affection as the basis of the whole state religion. The king—the paterfamilias, as it were, of the state—is its religious as well as its civil head.

Secondly, there can be no doubt that in the later regal period a profound Etruscan influence affected religion. Not merely did it introduce new deities, so that the Capitoline triad now becomes Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, but it changed the whole conception of the "spirits." The Etruscans, whose civilization was probably a debased form of Hellenism, introduced to Rome the temple "made with hands" as the dwelling-place of the god instead of the open grove or hill-top, and with the temple, or soon after it, the sensuous representation of the deity in bust or statue. This was a long step towards anthropomorphism.

Finally, the expulsion of the kings and the establishment of the Republic meant

the distribution of the religious offices of the king between the magistrates and the various priesthoods, which had already been constituted in the "religion of Numa." This was a change in organization rather than a change in substance.

Rome was not, of course, "built in a day," and the citizens kept up the celebration of the rites which they or their fathers had performed naturally in the country, adapting them as they best could to the new conditions.

Very significant is the history of the boundary festivals. The Ambarvalia, essentially a rustic ceremony, is yet performed in the city, and the solemn procession, with the suovetaurilia, passes round the boundaries of the state; but there are two notable changes. The rites are now performed on behalf of the state by an organized priesthood and the deity associated with the ceremony is no longer Mars, who has become in the state the god of war, but in Virgil's time Ceres, and later the Dea Dia, a vague and ancient earth spirit revived for this purpose. And side by side with this reproduction of the rustic rite was invented an Amburbium, a lustration of the city (*urbs*) which was more appropriate to the new town life.

MARS THE WAR GOD

Originally a Latin vegetation deity, Mars became god of war and was eventually given the attributes of the Greek Ares. This Roman image of him embodies no native conception, being executed in the manner of Lysippus of Sicyon.

Rome, Museo delle Terme; photo, Anderson

Terminus is now enshrined in the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, represented there by a sacred stone, immediately over which there is a hole in the roof, in order that the deity may be worshipped, as he should be, in the open air. Similarly, the Compitalia are celebrated in the city at the points where the cross-streets meet, two small shrines of the Lares Compitales being erected there; true to tradition, it was still a festival in which slaves had a prominent part.

Turning to the house cults, nothing is more interesting and typical than the development of the worship of Vesta. Every household has its own hearth cult in the city no less than in the country, but the hearth of the state is the hearth of the king. Accordingly, we find the shrine of Vesta, round in shape according to the old tradition, next to the king's palace at the west end of the Forum. There the sacred fire is kept alight from year's end to year's end, and only suffered to go out and be rekindled on March 1, the New Year's Day of the old calendar. The Vestal Virgins had the duty of keeping the hearth of the king always burning, so that any member of the community might come to get fire for himself. They had also the charge of "Vesta's

store-house" (*penus Vestæ*), which contained the most sacred religious emblems. At the solemn ceremony of the Vestalia from June 7 to June 15 the penus vestae was thrown open to all Roman matrons, who visited the shrine and made their offerings. These days were not only *nefasti,* no business might be transacted on them, but also *religiosi,* on them marriages might not be celebrated and the priestess of Jupiter might not hold intercourse with her husband, or cut her hair, or pare her nails. Only when, on the 15th, the shrine had been swept and the refuse thrown into the Tiber, did the solemn period come to an end.

Vesta, then, in spite of the aggrandizement of her cult remains always true to her original nature. But some of the other spirits greatly changed their character. Janus, for instance, the "door spirit," becomes associated with the "door" of the state at the north-east corner of the Forum, opened in time of war and shut only when Rome was at peace with all the world.

Juno develops in the state in two different aspects. First she becomes pre-eminently the deity of women: as the "light-bringer" (Lucina) she presides over childbirth; the rites of marriage are in her special charge, and on March 1 she is worshipped at the "Matrons' festival." On the other hand, she shares in the honors of Jupiter: white cows are offered to her as white steers are to him; as he presides over the Ides (the middle day of the month) so does Juno over the Kalends.

Even more significant is the fate of Mars: from being an agricultural spirit he develops with the new needs of a state into the god of war. His altar is in "Mars' field" (Campus Martius) outside the city boundary—for nothing connected with war is allowed within—and in his honor are held various festivals of a military character.

But by far the greatest development is that of Jupiter. More than any other deity Jupiter rises to the needs of the new city community. Jupiter is now the "stayer of rout" (Stator) and the "giver of victory" (Victor); to the sacred oak of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol must be brought the spoils of victory and to his Capitoline temple the victorious general passes in his triumphal procession. In civil life, too, he is the maintainer of justice in his character of Jupiter Fidius, the god of oaths. More and more the life of the community centers round him, until, enshrined in his great temple on the Capitol, he comes to embody in his title of Jupiter Optimus Maximus the very greatness and majesty of the Roman state itself.

Thus the old worship passed into the

TEMPLE DESIGNED ON HOMESTEAD LINES

Since family worship centered in Vesta, the hearth-spirit, her House at Rome was given the circular shape of an early Latin farmhouse. The foundations alone survive, but here we see another Roman temple, built on the same plan. It was probably dedicated to the Mater Matuta, goddess of the dawn, and is now the church of Santa Maria del Sole.

Photo, Donald McLeish

religion of the state. The process of adaptation brought with it the creation of something like a religious hierarchy. When there was no longer a king who could act as paterfamilias his religious functions had to be divided.

Some of these functions fell to the civil magistrates, some to an executive official who still retained the title of Rex Sacrorum ("king of the ceremonies"), but far the greater part to the college of the pontifices, "the bridge builders," the meaning of whose name is still a mystery. Among them the Pontifex Maximus, who held office for life, was practically the religious head of the community. There were also colleges of augurs, who interpreted the omens and auspices taken by the magistrates, and of the *fetials,* who were concerned with the declaration of war and of peace.

All this multiplication of officials implied organization and formalization of cult; there grew up side by side with the civil law the *jus divinum,* an embodiment of all the traditions of religious observance and a code, as it were, of the relations of god and man.

It is not difficult to see what the effect of this great change must have been. The transference of agricultural festivals to the city made for unreality, the stereotyping of ritual made for formality, and the concentration of the performance of worship in the hands of priesthoods divorced religion from the life of the ordinary man. In the household, no doubt, and on the country farms the spirit of the "religion of Numa" survived. But the state religion, except in so far as the cult of Jupiter expressed Roman patriotism, became more and more moribund, and men began to reach out to welcome new ideas and forms of religion from abroad.

Already in the regal epoch, as Rome came into contact with her neighbors, she had begun to adopt their gods, and side by side with the old "gods of the soil" (*indigetes*) there was growing up a class of "new-comers" (*noven-sides*).

The growth of the city state soon produced a large class of craftsmen and handiworkers. To protect them the Etruscan settlers introduced Minerva, who became the patroness of the craft-guilds, including even scribes, doctors, schoolmasters and fluteplayers.

Rome, in 499 B.C., fought a battle with her neighbors, led by the inhabitants of Tusculum, at Lake Regillus, and legend tells how the twin deities, Castor and Pollux, in the course of the battle came over to the side of Rome, and were thereafter worshipped in the city.

Thirdly, a deity might be brought to Rome by settlers coming from neighbor-

MEMBER OF A SACRED ORDER

In the temple of Vesta fire burnt continually throughout the year on the public hearth, which was tended by the Vestal virgins—an order of priestesses that dwelt apart from the world in a kind of nunnery.

Rome, National Museum; photo Anderson

ing towns; this was probably the case with the strange cult of Hercules at the Forum Boarium.

Of the deities thus introduced into Rome from the neighboring towns it will be noticed that three were of Greek origin —Castor, Pollux (Polydeuces) and Hercules (Heracles). They had reached Tusculum and Tibur doubtless from the Greek cities of southern Italy, and must have been established there for some time before they passed on to Rome.

Somewhere about 500 B.C. came the

first introduction of a Greek god, that of Apollo, patron of the Sibyl at Cumae. Apollo retained his Greek name, but on the next appearance of "new comers" we meet the habit of identifying these Greek gods with old Roman spirits.

In 496 B.C. famine caused a consultation of the Sibylline books, and they recommended the introduction of the Greek deities Demeter, Dionysus and Kore, under the names of the old Latin spirits Ceres, Liber and Libera, the two last an old divinity pair concerned with the growth of the corn. Liber becomes henceforth a wine deity and assumes the characteristics and personality of the Greek Bacchus. In the same way, later crises caused the introduction of Hermes, henceforth identified with Mercury, an old commercial deity; of Poseidon, identified with Neptune; and of Asklepios, the healing god, Latinized as Aesculapius and settled in a temple on the Tiber island. A still greater innovation was made in a crisis of the Second Punic War in 205 B.C., when, under the orders of the Sibylline books, the "Great Mother" was brought—in the form of a meteoric stone —from Pessinus in Asia Minor, the first of the oriental deities worshipped with ecstatic orgies to receive the official recognition of the Roman State.

Hardly less revolutionary in effect than the arrival of these anthropomorphic deities was the establishment of certain Greek forms of ritual. Lastly came the institution of the games on great occasions, not only of thanksgiving but of mourning, when the populace gathered to witness dramatic performances or races or contests of gladiators.

The history of the old Latin religion and its developments has thus been brought up to about 200 B.C. It has been seen how what was originally a simple sense of power greater than human expressed itself in the cult of the household. With the growth of the city state this worship was enlarged and adapted to meet new needs: but this transference led to organization and formalization, which stereotyped religion and placed it in the hands of a professional priesthood. For one reason or another Rome began to admit within its walls the cult of the neighboring Italian towns, and in so doing came into contact with Greek ideas and customs. These innovations seemed for the time to satisfy the wants of the populace; but they debased the ideas of the old religion by introducing a crude anthropomorphism and practices based on transient emotion, which were emphasized by the first contact with the orgiastic cults of the East.

We may briefly summarize the later history of religion at Rome. In the first century B.C. the influence of Greek literature became paramount: the study of the Greek poets stimulated anthropomorphism by a more thorough identification of the gods of Greece with the Roman deities, and, in particular, by the attachment of Greek legends to the Graecized gods of Rome. The study of Greek philosophy brought a profound scepticism with regard to traditional religious belief, and, in so far as it was constructive, introduced a shadowy philosophic conception of deity.

Both these influences affected the educated classes. Meanwhile, the people turned more and more to the oriental cults, and preeminently to that of the "Great Mother," with her mutilated priests and excited processions, and to the Egyptian Isis, whose worship involved an element of emotional asceticism. Augustus endeavored to make something of a religious revival, and to bring together the various strains of legitimate worship. In the succeeding century popular religion hovered between the oriental cults and Caesar worship, while the learned were feeling after a syncretism which might lead to a kind of philosophic monotheism. Into this atmosphere burst the revolutionary teaching of Christianity.

But throughout all these shifting changes, among the simpler folk of the country the old cults of the household and the fields lingered on. Christianity found its most stubborn opponents in "paganism," the deep-rooted religion of the agricultural *pagi,* or farming communities. Nor is it too much to say that it was never wholly vanquished. The Roman Church owes something of the elaboration of its ceremonial, and its care for the little things of life, to the old Roman religion, and the many local and functional saints of present-day Italy are, in effect, the successors of the ancient spirits.

HOW GREEK CULTURE CAME TO ROME

THE SOFTENING INFLUENCE OF HELLENISM UPON THE LIFE AND MORALS OF THE LATIN PEOPLES

By R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D.

Formerly Hulme Professor of Latin, Victoria University of Manchester; Author of The Making of Latin, etc.

'GRAECIA capta ferum captorem cepit' —captive Greece took captive her uncivilized conqueror. The stage in the growth of humanity which Horace's words happily describe may most fitly be studied in connection with the events of the last century but one B.C., since it was then that the process of adapting Greek ideas to Roman life became conscious and deliberate. But it had begun at least three or four centuries sooner; and another four or five centuries were needed to complete it.

How far back the influence began appears curiously from the fact that the name by which the Romans called their neighbors, namely, Greek, belonged properly to a tribe on what we should call the Albanian coast, which had disappeared completely in historical times. But we may begin this survey with the first record we have of an attempt made by anyone who spoke Latin to write it down; the only way to do this was to use the alphabet of the neighboring Greek colony of Cumae. This was about 600 B.C., and the evidence from which we know the date is of some interest.

The words are inscribed upon a beautiful gold brooch, found at Praeneste: 'Manios has made me for Numasios.' This was written in old Latin from right to left in characters which cannot yet be called those of the Latin alphabet; they are the Greek script of Cumae pressed into the service of a non-Greek language; and with them begins the history of Latin writing. From this small private venture in an art which at that time only the Greeks could teach, it is a far cry to the work of S. Jerome in the fourth century A.D., translating the New Testament into the spoken Latin of his day, and thereby creating the Vulgate.

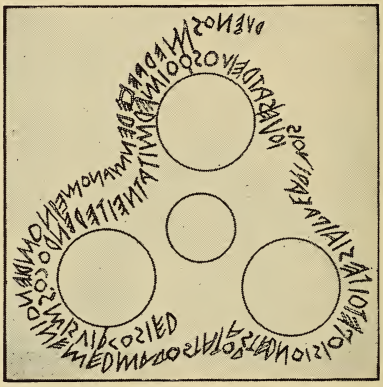
Two Distinct Streams of Influence

The work of Jerome is typical of the process we are considering, because it finally combined two distinct streams of influence, which moved for long in the same direction, but which affected different sides of life and, for a long time, very different kinds of people. These two streams we may call respectively the popular and the literary current. The second, when once it had begun to flow, was the more powerful, because it was from this that the Romans drew their knowledge of the best that the Greeks had to give. Yet it is quite certain that without support from the other side the power of Greek literature alone could hardly have won the domination which it held over the Roman mind. For the effect of popular contact with Greek ways in every-day concerns and in satisfying commonplace needs was unsought and largely unconscious; and for this very reason it had singular penetrating power.

Until the epoch in which Rome became mistress of Italy and counted as her subject allies all the Greek colonies dotted along its southern and western coasts—that is, until after the conquest of Tarentum in 272 B.C.—the channel through which this popular influence flowed was almost wholly mercantile. But it must be remembered that merchandise in those days included slaves, who brought with them far more words and ideas into Roman homes than did particular imports like olive oil, or figs, or roses, which carried only their own names, or at most those of their various kinds and sources. Of the mass of Greek words which in the end came into Latin use (their number is not less than ten thousand), a limited but still considerable number are words

introduced by actual process of intercourse in speech.

Many of these relate to things material, such as the word 'gubernare,' to steer a ship which comes from a Greek word of the same meaning; and a whole group of words relating to the sea, as, for example, 'scopulus,' rock, 'pirata' pirate, 'gripus,' drag-net, 'emblema,' ship's ensign, 'prora,' prow, and a large number of fish names. Others were introduced into Rome not directly from the Greeks but through the Etruscans, whom, at the beginning of Roman history, we find to be the masters of Rome, Latium and Tuscany, and of many settlements along the west coast as far south as Surrentum; such as 'groma,' surveyor's table (the Etruscan form of the Greek 'gnōmon,' pointer), 'persona,' a mask, from an Etruscan abbreviation of the Greek 'prosōpon,' face, with 'scēna,' stage, and 'schēma,' get-up or make-up, and some other stage terms.



GREEK MAGIC IN A ROMAN CURSE

Characteristic Greek forms appear in this early fourth century Latin inscription, which runs round the outer edge of three vases joined together in a triangle. It is a curse, and is known as the Duenos inscription from the first word (top).

Special mention must be made of a small earthenware vase with three cavities, found in 1880, and known as the Duenos Vase, from the name of the person who mentions himself in the inscription scratched round its sides. The three sentences which it contains were for long a puzzle to Latin scholars, and no fewer than thirty-seven different interpretations have been put forward! But the later renderings differ only in details, and it is generally agreed that it contains a curse.

Now this curse contains a curious formula: 'Let not the Virgin'—that is Proserpine, queen of the underworld—'be hospitable to thee,' which is taken directly from a Greek formula that appears in a number of curses found on the coast of Asia Minor at Halicarnassus; a group which provides also another formula: 'Let him be carried off as a slave bought and sold to Demeter,' which appears in a curse of the third century B.C. found in Campania. These, like most magical documents, were written by folk whom we should call illiterate; though that description might be applied to almost the whole of Rome in the fourth century B.C.; for the only persons who then possessed anything that could be called education were a handful of religious state officials who regulated the calendar and who kept a record of the names of the chief magistrates every year. By them, about 450 B.C., the first Roman code of laws had been engraved—the famous Twelve Tables—in an alphabet taken partly from the Greeks of Cumae and partly from the Etruscans, who had learnt theirs also, probably, from the Greeks.

By the same group of priests must have been set up the oldest public monument of Roman life which we possess; this is known as the Forum inscription, and was found in 1900. It was almost certainly cut in the period of the Twelve Tables. If only it were complete, instead of being five sundered fragments, no one of which completes a sentence, our knowledge both of early Latin and early Rome would have been greatly enriched by the find. The letters may be said to belong to the Latin alphabet, but still show some characteristic Greek forms.

The words which remain show clearly that the monument marked a particular area of the Forum as consecrated to some

particular purpose; and probably enjoined that no cattle were to be driven across it.

Its interest for our present purpose lies in the fact that the writing ran along the length of the obelisk, and that its direction changed in alternate lines, one line running upwards and the next running down. Now, we read that the laws of Solon were inscribed on many-sided revolving pillars of wood and also on stone columns, the writing being not necessarily up and down but certainly to and fro, about a century earlier at Athens. Further, we may note that the fashion of writing up and down the sides of an obelisk appears also in a corner of Italy which was especially subject to Greek influence—the region of the Veneti. It is by no means a mere coincidence that the whole basis of what may be called the first constitution of Rome, namely, the arrangement of the citizens into classes according to their wealth, and their allotment to different military divisions accordingly, resembles the timocratic constitution given to Athens by Solon. The finding of this fragment has supplied peculiarly convincing evidence of the source from which the Romans in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. were deriving many of their ideas.

At the beginning, therefore, the help which the Romans obtained from their Greek neighbors was of a strictly practical kind. But even in this restricted intercourse they became familiar with a certain number of Greek ideas on the non-material side of life. If Greek deities like Proserpine were needed for cursing one's enemies, the Italian learnt also from his Greek neighbors to invoke more pleasant personalities. Among these were Hercules, patron of trade and travel, the twin gods Castor and Pollux, the deliverers of storm-pressed sailors; and later on Apollo, the giver of oracles.

By the time when Augustus crowned the Palatine Hill with the magnificent temple and library in his honor (28-24 B.C.), the name of Apollo had become synonymous with nobility of morals and enlightenment of mind; and it was by no means an accident that he was chosen by this shrewd peacemaker and reformer to be his especial patron.

When we turn in thought from the Queen of Darkness, invoked in obscure maledictions in 400 B.C., to the God of Light, whose glorious attributes inspired the founder of the Roman Empire, which was to give the world four centuries of 'Roman peace,' the vastness of the change in thought and manners that has taken place gives us some measure of the power of the second source of Greek influence —the power, that is, of Greek literature. But the beginning even of this influence, which is almost the same thing as the beginning of literature at Rome, was rooted in practical needs.

In 272 B.C. one of the Greek captives from Tarentum, named Andronicus, came to Rome as a slave of the Roman general Marcus Livius, whose name he afterwards took, according to custom, on receiving from him his freedom. The service by which he earned it was that of teaching his master's children, in the first place to read and write. But what were they to read? Greek books there were in plenty, but no Latin, though there was a species of literature orally current, as, for example, the family traditions rehearsed at every nobleman's funeral, and, almost certainly, popular ballads in Saturnian verse—a rough kind of jog-trot meter scanned mainly by accent, rather like Longfellow's Hiawatha, only with six feet instead of four to a line. Utilizing this meter Andronicus translated Homer's Odyssey into Latin, to use in teaching his pupils; and in so doing he produced the first piece of Latin literature; though the first author actually to write down something in Latin seems to have been the blind censor Appius Claudius, whose famous speech against peace with king Pyrrhus after his defeat of the Romans in 280 B.C. was reported in writing.

From narrative poetry Andronicus proceeded to drama; and the representation of a Greek tragedy translated by him in Rome in 240 B.C. is a turning point in literary history.

Greek Source of Roman Drama

Andronicus used some of the Greek meters; and he was followed in this by the first Latin poet, Naevius, who, besides his narrative, in Saturnian meter, of the first Punic War (264-241 B.C.), translated a number of Greek tragedies into iambic and trochaic measures before

the end of the third century B.C. In less than a quarter of a century the Roman people had learnt to love the drama; and the only plays they yet had were taken from the Greek.

This is true of all the complete plays we possess, twenty-one of Plautus and six of Terence, and of a great number by other writers which we know by fragments only. Since, unfortunately, their Greek originals have all been lost, we cannot test directly the degree to which they were modified. We can see, however, plainly enough, that Plautus set himself to introduce a large number of features of popular Roman life; so that, although the scene and story of his plays are always characteristically Greek, they could nevertheless be enjoyed by the ordinary Roman audience.

Latin Adaptation of Greek Drama

A GLANCE at one or two plays will show us how the elements are blended. In the Mostellaria ('Ghost Story') the young lover, while his wealthy and devout father Theopropides ('Mr. Godly') is trading abroad, borrows money, buys his mistress from her master the 'leno' and marries her. While the wedding festivities are still going on, his father returns to Athens, and is faced by the real hero (at all events the central figure) of the play, the slave Tranio, who scares him off with a long story of how a ghost (and apparently a noisy one) has infested the family residence; and he explains the sounds which occasionally proceed from the banqueting party inside as being caused by the ghost! When Tranio is further faced by the visit of the money-lender, who calls to dun the young master for the interest on his loan, Tranio explains to Theopropides that the loan in question has been incurred in order to buy the house next door. He then contrives, in an amusing scene, to trick the real owner of that house into allowing Theopropides to go all over it, thinking that it is his son's property but abstaining from alluding to the purchase so as not to hurt his neighbor's feelings; since, according to Tranio, that neighbor has had to raise money suddenly, and so has parted with the house at a very low price.

Of course, the truth comes to light, and Tranio takes refuge on the altar, from which Theopropides, though he threatens him with all sorts of penalties, is too scrupulous to drag him. But a wealthy friend of the young lover comes to the rescue and pays off the debt; and on the strength of this Theopropides consents to his son's marriage. The end of this scene is lost by a tiresome gap in the manuscripts, and it is possible that it contained some statement showing that the bride, Philematium ('Little Kiss'), has been discovered to have been born free and an Athenian citizen. This would be the common ending of a story of this kind; it appears for instance in the romantic play of the Rudens ('The Fisherman's Rope'); and it is certainly suggested by the charming character of the heroine herself. Earlier in the play, in what is perhaps the prettiest scene in all Latin drama, she is discovered at her toilet preparing for the banquet, and receiving sage advice from her old attendant Scapha, who proceeds to reprove her for her faithfulness to her lover on the ground that men are fickle, and that a bright young girl should have more than one string to her bow. This advice Philematium indignantly rejects, in terms quite worthy of a Roman maiden; and her modesty, refinement and loyalty are pictured with the fresh sympathy in which the greatness of Plautus lies.

Now this story is thoroughly Greek. Roman fathers did not go away on trading expeditions for months at a time; nor were they commonly the victims of such pious superstition as made Tranio's master an easy prey to his slave. Still less were slave girls ever made into brides. Capable slaves, of course, enjoyed great influence with their masters; and, as we can see from Cicero's Letters to Tiro and Horace's conversation with his bailiff, some degree of familiar intercourse was common enough. But the unblushing and often impertinent confidence which the slaves of later Greek Comedy assume towards their masters could only be tolerated in Rome as an extravaganza—the picture of a topsy-turvy world, amusing because it was the opposite of reality. Nevertheless, dreams may sometimes come true and there can be no doubt that the continual familiarity with the gentler manners and generous sentiment of ro-

mances like the Rudens (in which the heroine, a refined and charming girl, is restored to freedom and to her genial father from whom she had been kidnapped in infancy) or the Captivi ('The Prisoners,' in which a slave faces prison and torture to secure his young master's escape) did something to humanize the rough tastes and rudimentary morals of the Roman populace.

Greek and Roman Blend in Plautus's Comedies

THAT this was possible was largely due to the thoroughly Roman and Italian temper which Plautus infused into a great number of details. His characters, indeed, often drop into Greek, and always use Greek exclamations—as, for instance, 'euge,' well done; 'sophos,' good for you; 'papae,' oh dear—just as in English we have taken 'bravo' and 'dear me' (dio mio) from Italian. Still more often they Latinize the shape of their Greek words as 'harpagavit' (he has hooked him); 'malacissandus est' (we must stroke him down). His parasites, too, are thoroughly Greek institution, and behave with a freedom which the most hardened diner-out at Rome would not have dared to take; but in most of the plays they fill one or more laughable scenes by describing their experience of hunger, and displaying their knowledge of good things, in thoroughly Roman terms. In the same way the slaves, though they behave with Athenian effrontery, are always in dread of the stern punishments in use at Rome, such as being branded on the forehead, or put to death on the cross.

In the comedy of Terence we breathe a different atmosphere—that, namely, of the later Greek Comedy pure and simple, with hardly a feature that can be called Roman. Terence was not even a Greek by birth, but an African who had had a Greek education, and who came to Rome as a slave, but after receiving his freedom was admitted to the friendship of the Scipios. The refinement of his language and the delicacy of his wit, perhaps one ought even to add the subtlety of his ethical criticism, are certainly connected with this friendship, though for our present purpose it matters little how much of his work we regard as his own and how much as due to his noble patrons who were steeped in Greek lore.

The stories of the plays, of course, are Greek, and though they are true enough to some fundamental instincts of humanity, and to some of the commonest experiences of life, never to lack admirers in any age, they were not nearly so popular in Rome as the livelier action and wider horizon of Plautus. In the Phormio, for instance, the whole plot turns on a peculiarity of the Athenian law, that the nearest male relative of an unmarried orphan girl was bound either to marry her or to procure a husband for her by offering a sufficiently attractive dowry; and if he chose the first alternative, he was expected to divorce his wife (if he were married) in order to be free to marry his ward.

If Plautus had handled the theme, we might have had the same leading characters, but the old men would have shown some acquaintance with the Roman Forum and the towns and customs of Italy; and the parasite Phormio (who pretends to be the heroine's cousin) would have carried through his part with boisterous, if not romantic, zeal and vigorous humor. As it is, we have what is probably a more consistent and incisive study of one side of human life as it appeared in Athenian society of the decadence. In a word, the chief contribution of Terence to Roman education was probably of a destructive kind, questioning every moral dogma.

Yet that this influence had a positive side of no small value may be judged even from a single saying—though it is only put forward as an excuse for a neighbor's curiosity, the famous line in The Self-Tormentor—'I am a man and nothing human is outside my interests.'

To the needs of education and amusement there was added another which in the troublous decades of the Hannibalic War (218-202 B.C.) seemed no less practical. After Hannibal's third overwhelming victory at Cannae, in 216 B.C., where Rome lost no fewer than eighty thousand of her citizens, the Romans sent an embassy to the famous oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Besides giving wise advice against panic, this authority recommended them to make offerings to himself when prosperity returned. Four years later, when their prospects had improved in the war, we find games in honor of Apollo first celebrated at Rome. They

were made annual in 208, and in this same year we find Andronicus himself officially charged to compose a hymn of supplication to be chanted by twenty-seven maidens, marching in procession through the city, in order to beseech divine help against Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, who was bringing great reinforcements to him from Spain. After the tide of fortune had turned by the defeat of Hasdrubal in 207, one of the most noteworthy acts of thanksgiving, undertaken with the sanction of the Delphic Oracle, was the introduction of a new deity—the Great Mother, from Mount Ida in the Troad (see page 918) a step no doubt connected, we may note in passing, with the tradition fostered by Greek writers of the settlement of the Trojan Aeneas in Latium.

Power of Greek Political Ideals

Few incidents throw more vivid light on the popular feelings of that date, and on the steps by which enlightened statesmen thought it well to satisfy them, than the elaborate ceremonies with which the black meteoric stone that the goddess was supposed to inhabit was solemnly fetched from her temple at Pessinus and received with rejoicing in 205 B.C., to be thereafter honored at Rome by an annual festival.

So far we have noted the ways in which ordinary people at Rome had come to learn the ideas of their Greek neighbors. To all this was added the power of Greek political ideals upon the governing class as those ideals came to be understood, especially of the Greek conception of free government. This was congenial enough to the old Roman spirit, and it is not surprising that Flamininus and other great commanders should have rejoiced in the task of checking or overthrowing Greek despots like Philip V of Macedon, and of restoring freedom to the Greek cities.

But in making themselves champions of the freedom for which Pericles and Demosthenes had contended, the Romans were embracing larger ideals of life than were contained in the hardy discipline by which their ancestors had learnt to put their country first. The Greek conception of freedom included elements of individual and social culture which were new to Rome; and thus, almost insensibly, the old Roman principles were reinterpreted in the more humane light of Greek teaching—a process which may be traced all through Roman literature, and which was to find its climax in the work of Vergil, Rome's greatest poet, both in his Georgics ('Notes on Farming') and in the Aeneid, his national epic. But a century before Vergil was born we find even the sternest opponent of Greek fashions and Greek theories, the censor Cato, speaking as cordially as Flamininus himself could of the Greek champions of liberty. 'I look upon a king,' said Cato on one occasion (meaning by 'king' a despot of the Macedonian type), 'as a creature that feeds upon human flesh; and of all the famous kings I find not one to be compared with Epaminondas or Pericles or Themistocles or our own Manius Curius.'

This reverence for the most practical of all Greek principles exercised decisive force in establishing the ascendancy of Greek literature at Rome. Beside it and only less potent was the need which Roman generals continually felt, in their conflict with the powers of the Mediterranean, for the help of Greek science in every kind of military and naval work. The Roman general Marcellus was completely baffled in his naval assaults on the city of Syracuse by the machines for shooting and grappling invented by the Greek mathematician Archimedes, who was in the city at the time (see Chap. 73). His engines were so formidable—some of them hoisted the Roman ships half out of the water and then dropped them again—that Marcellus had to desist entirely from the assault, and took the city only by two years' blockade. When Archimedes was slain by an ignorant soldier, Marcellus was grieved, buried him with honor and placed his family out of reach of want.

A companion picture, of much the same date, is that of young Scipio, destined to be the conqueror of Hannibal, whose study of Greek theories of the tides enabled him to predict that the lagoon which sheltered the Carthaginian fortress of New Carthage would be only waist-deep at a certain hour on a certain day. Through this knowledge he took the town, and its capture marked the end of Carthaginian predominance in Spain. It

is not irrelevant, however, to note further that Scipio thought it well to represent the shallowness of the water to his soldiers as a miracle wrought by Neptune on their behalf. This, he knew, would be more likely both to be believed and to arouse confidence among his soldiers than a plain statement of the fact.

His pretence is explicitly praised by the sceptical Greek historian Polybius, who regards the whole of Scipio's interest in religion as a politic (and admirable) fraud. But the Roman historian Livy, with somewhat deeper insight, allows room for the mystical side which undoubtedly existed in Scipio's temperament, and which prompted him to many acts, indeed to a lifelong practice, of religious observance; but the deliberate mystification which he practised upon his soldiers Livy clearly condemns. The two points of view, of Scipio and of his soldiers, and the rational but also religious temper of Livy, are all typical of the ferment in the Roman mind which had begun in Scipio's day and was to continue for another two centuries.

In school, then, in the theatre, in religion, in war, in statecraft and in every kind of knowledge the Romans of the second century B.C. were eagerly absorbing Greek ideas. We cannot wonder that that century witnessed the rise of authors who aspired to do for Rome what the great Greek writers, whom they took for their masters, had done for Greece, and above all for Athens. Stern farmer-soldiers of the old school like Cato, who was censor in 184 B.C., fought hard against the new tide. In a characteristic passage in his treatise On Agriculture, the first prose book ever written in Latin, he advises his son thus: 'Sell off promptly old or sick cattle, old farm-stock, old slaves, sick slaves, and every other superfluity'; and his views of women were hardly less drastic than his view of slaves. It is difficult to say, indeed, whether he disliked the Scipionic circle more for their humanity and refinement of character—Scipio Africanus himself was famous for his clemency, and for his chivalrous treatment of women—or for the new and softer ways of living which they encouraged both in their own households and among their soldiers. But we have seen that even Cato could not help admiring the Greek ideal of freedom, and there is no reason to doubt the story that in his eightieth year he began to learn Greek in order to read Greek authors for himself.

Besides the dramatist Terence, the Scipionic circle included also the poet Ennius, who proved himself the greatest of all the poets who translated Greek tragedies for the stage, and who adapted the meter of Homer to his epic of Roman history—his Annales, the great forerunner of the Aeneid. Naevius had died lamenting what he thought the extinction of Latin poetry, in a well known epitaph:

For dying men if deathless gods were free
To weep the Latin Muse had wept for me:
For now that Naevius lies in his last home
The Latin tongue itself is dead at Rome.

All that this actually meant was that the primitive Latin Saturnian was giving way to Greek meters, some of which Naevius himself had introduced; and with the adaptation by Ennius of the Greek hexameter and the Greek elegiac to Latin poetry, Roman literature may be said to be launched on its own career.

One Influence That Touched the Masses

When the supremacy of the Greek writers in knowledge, in thought, in the manifold variety of their outlook on human experience was once recognized, they became the center and standard of intellectual life for every educated Roman. But to the general mass of the Roman people, ready as they were to assimilate Greek culture of the material and commonplace kind, the Greek writers were known only indirectly. One line of influence there was, however, which more and more fused itself with what was best in the mind of every class; and with a brief indication of its nature this chapter may fitly conclude.

One of the incidents in the headstrong campaign which, as we have seen, the old Cato waged against Greek manners, was his demand that the embassy of three Greek philosophers, who visited Rome from Athens in 155 B.C., should be dismissed from the city because they were 'corrupting the Roman youth.' His chief objection, we may be sure, was to Carneades, who was then leader of the so-called New Academy, a school of philosophy whose doctrine was the impossibility of certain knowledge on any

subject whatever, but especially on moral questions. But with Carneades were two other Greek philosophers, and one of them was a leading Stoic, who no doubt prepared the way for the more permanent influence of his pupil Panaetius who came to Rome not many years later. Carneades and his companions attracted enormous audiences to their lectures in Rome; and Cato's attack itself shows pretty clearly that people in Rome of that day were giving serious attention to the new studies and the inquiries which they prompted.

Introduction of Stoic Philosophy

PANAETIUS, as well as his friend, the historian Polybius, was attached to the Scipionic circle. We have already seen that that circle was a center of Greek influence, and the Stoic philosophy, which Panaetius represented, secured almost at once a firm footing in Rome. Its central doctrine—that Man lives to do his duty, not to find pleasure—strongly appealed to the Roman temper, especially as the Stoics included in their conception of duty the claims of a man's country upon him. Perhaps the greatest contribution which Cicero's writings, a century later, made to human progress has lain in his adaptation of a book of Panaetius in his own work, On Duties.

In this humane treatise, which has, in fact, played no small part in shaping the public ethics of Christendom, all kinds of duty are considered; of the slave as well as of the free, of women as well as of men. This Stoic teaching was embraced cordially by many thoughtful Romans both in the generation that followed Cato the Censor, and in the subsequent age in which Cato's own grandson became the most famous of all Roman Stoics. But it must not of course be supposed that it spread among the general mass of people with anything like the same speed. The calamities of the last century of the Republic (133 to 31 B.C.) did indeed produce a reaction in favor of the rival school of the Epicureans—a school whose chief doctrine, in its vulgar form, 'Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die,' was condemned by S. Paul, who had been trained in Stoic surroundings. This kind of teaching, as Warde Fowler points out, has never flourished except in periods of political collapse and acute social distress; and with the restoration of peace by Octavian (31 B.C.) a new impetus was given to the spread of Stoic teaching. By this time it was by no means only a philosophy of the closet or the statesman, though both of these it was. (Stoicism and Epicureanism are more fully examined in Chapter 58.)

The writings of Epictetus, the lame slave of the first century (born about A.D. 50), are only part of a mass of evidence which shows that Stoic doctrine had begun to make a wider appeal and that thus at last the two streams of Greek influence, from above and from below, had begun to unite.

At the same time the Stoic teaching took a more humane color. Within a few years of Vergil's death (19 B.C.), his Aeneid was studied in every school; and in the central episode of the poem, the vision of Anchises in Book VI, Vergil has embodied a statement of the Stoic creed, but filled it with a new note of tenderness and compassion. Some eighty years later, in the famous line of the young poet Lucan, himself a Stoic whom Nero put to death, the Stoic disciple is bidden 'to believe that he was born, not for his own benefit, but for that of the whole world.' in the light of recent study, and especially the concluding chapter of Professor E. V. Arnold's admirable work on Roman Stoicism, there can be no doubt that the main current of ethical progress flowed in the channels of Stoic teaching; and that this teaching, as it spread along the Roman roads through the world, aided not a little to prepare men's minds for a still more humane Gospel that was to proclaim the brotherhood of Greek and Roman, learned and unlearned, bond and free.